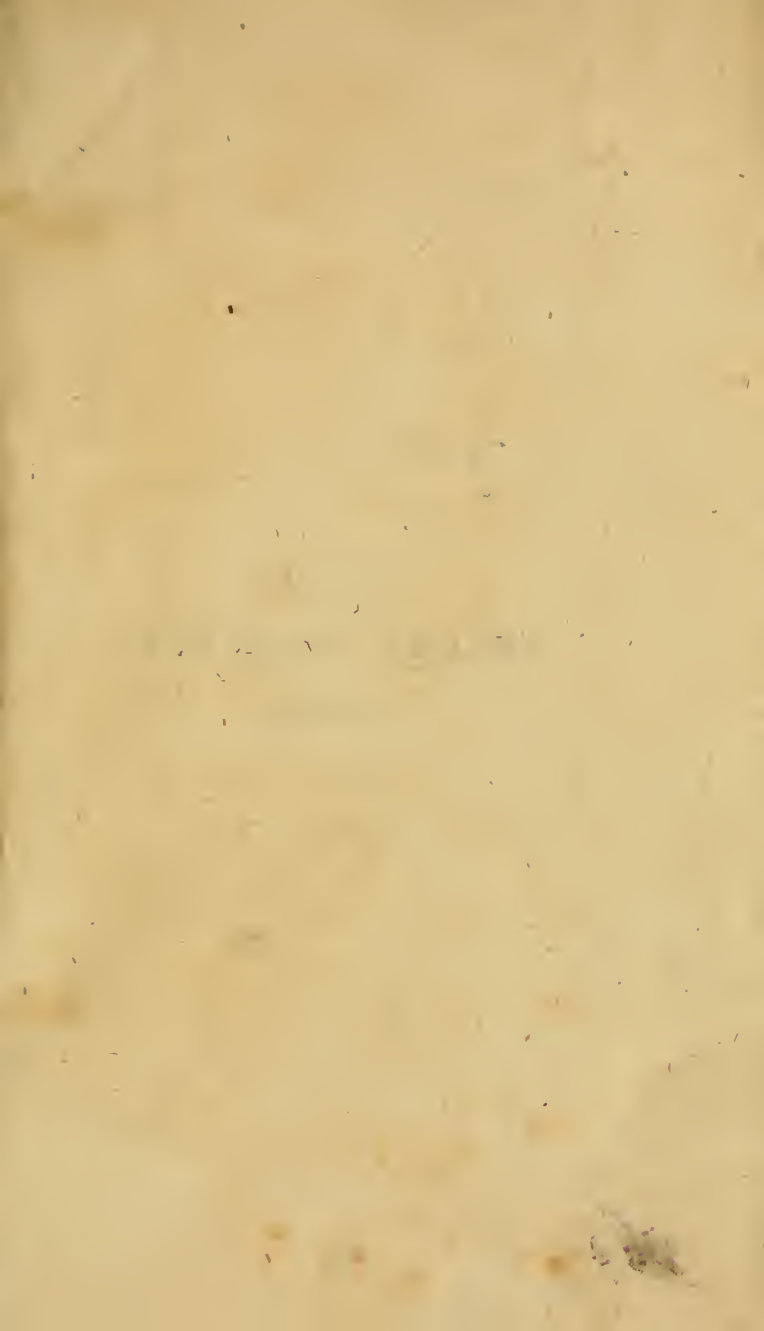


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CENTENARY TRACES.

CENTENARY TRACES

OF

Baptism and Baptists,

IN A SERIES OF

EXTRACTS FROM VARIOUS AUTHORS,

WITH OCCASIONAL OBSERVATIONS.

BY

WILLIAM KINGSFORD, Esq.

PARTICULARLY DESIGNED FOR

The Information of his Grandchildren.

CHATHAM:

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1812.

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SOME ACCOUNT OF

Mr. WILLIAM KINGSFORD. *

[WHILE this work was passing through the press,) the worthy compiler departed this life, after a severe illness, at his house, Barton Mills, Canterbury, on the 31st of May, 1812, and in the sixty-fourth year of his age.

Those who knew him, require no description of his character. His virtues are still fresh in their memory, and their lips yet speak his praise. But those who are now the living witnesses of his uprightness, piety, and benevolence, will soon follow him to the silence and forgetfulness of the tomb. It is therefore due to moral excellence—due to posterity, to preserve a memorial of departed worth, more durable, if

less honourable, than the *tablets of the heart*; and to distinguish a man who ought not to be forgotten, from men who deserve not to be remembered.

He who has cumbered, rather than served his generation, can be spared without regret, and may depart without marks of respect. The moral delinquent may be permitted to steal out of life unpursued, unless the good of society require him to be suspended in the chains of ignominy. But the names of the excellent ones of the earth, ought not to mingle in the same undistinguished heap of inglorious oblivion. They are precious in the sight of the Lord, and ought to be embalmed in the memory of men.

The writer of this had not the pleasure of early or long acquaintance with the worthy man, now no more: he cannot therefore give such information respecting the deceased, as close intimacy would have supplied. But what he hath seen and heard, he may be permitted to testify; and this he does with a special view to those, for whose information the CENTENARY TRACES were

particularly intended, that they may prove themselves worthy of such a sire. His recorded example, though less efficacious than the living pattern, is calculated to inspire them with just sentiment, and to excite them to worthy action. He is gone, yet they may view him as beckoning them to follow in his steps, and to emulate his virtues.

Mr. William Kingsford sustained throughout life an irreproachable character; nor was he negatively praiseworthy only. He exhibited, in no ordinary degree, all the domestic, relative, and social virtues. As a son, he was dutiful and affectionate—as a husband, he was kind and sympathetic—as a father, his care, solicitude, and tenderness, were truly parental—as a kinsman, he was amiable—as a friend, he showed himself friendly—as a man, he was upright and humane. His words were stamped by veracity; his transactions were marked with probity. His benevolence was operative and diffusive; his beneficence was prompt and liberal. His heart was tender to the cry of woe, and sight of distress; and the needy he sent not empty away.

The poor can tell how his looks of benig-
nity smiled upon them,—how his eyes
sparkled with delight, when the master of
the feast provided only for them,—how
kindly he gave them, not the scanty crumbs
that fell from his table, but the liberal frag-
ments of a board well supplied, that much
might remain to “feed the hungry.” His
was the blessedness of giving, theirs of re-
ceiving the annual cheer, and daily portion;
but their benefactor is no more, and they
sorrow for their loss.

To conclude this brief and very imperfect
sketch of his character: his demeanour was
tender to the poor—mild and condescending
to inferiors—affable to friends and acquaint-
ance—courteous to strangers—respectful to
the good and great—gentle and conciliatory
to all men.

The description might be extended, but
the writer fears that the modesty of rela-
tions is already wounded. May they forgive
him this wrong, for he could not satisfy his
own mind by saying less.

Posthumous representation of character
indeed is often so indiscriminate in commend-

ation, and lavish of praise, that the faithful portrait of an eminently good man, appears to those who never knew him, a caricature of his virtues, or an ideal picture. Ancient but degenerate Rome, consecrated as gods, when dead, men, who were tyrants when they lived. Modern Antichristian Rome has elevated to the rank of demi-gods, the cruelest oppressors, and vilest imposters. The partiality of party, of friendship, or of consanguinity, represents as great and good, him who has left behind him only indistinct traces of doubtful virtues. The converts and penitents of the popular religion, are, when dead, canonized, and extolled to heaven, for abject confession, bold assertion, presumptuous hopes, or passionate exclamation,—fain, perhaps, to make a virtue of necessity, by seeming desirous to resign what they cannot retain, and willing to die when they can no longer live.

Indiscriminate and unmerited encomium must affect the credit of biography, and therefore counteract, if not destroy, its moral tendency. We are willing to hope, however, that this brief sketch of Mr. W.

Kingsford, will not be altogether in vain, especially to his numerous descendants.

His religious sentiments may be inferred not only from the body of christians to whom he was a firm friend and bright ornament, but also from the works which he published, especially the last to which this memoir is prefixed.

His faith was not a blind acquiescence in the unexamined doctrines of forefathers,—dogmas of councils,—or systems of divines. He exercised his reason, proved all things, and held fast only what appeared to be good. He was far from indifferent to the sentiments in which he was confirmed by investigation ; yet he never made his opinions the rule and measure of other men's minds, nor erected himself into a dictator, or an infallible judge of orthodoxy or right belief. Though firm to his own principles, he did not dogmatize. Though a zealous general baptist, he was not the illiberal bigot of a party.

He treated, as of great importance, what he considered to be religious truth, and the proper mode of worshipping the deity ; but valued more highly the practical virtues.

As his religion was not a sort of *illuminism*, he approached you with no suspicious observation, as if watching doubtful signals, or intent on discovering the constituted symbols of mystic *initiation*. He was open and unreserved, and intending no imposture, suspected none.

His religion had the happiest influence upon him, it sweetened, not soured his temper,—expanded, not contracted his heart,—rendered him equably peaceful, not alternately rapturous and dejected,—cheerful, not gloomy,—free and communicative, not sullen and morose.

His devotion was apparent, without ostentation,—uniform, without formality,—serious, without sadness,—and fervent, without enthusiasm.

A rheumatic gout had for several years confined him from the active scenes of life, to a sedentary retirement,—and a deafness had deprived him, in a great measure, of the pleasure and advantage of conversation; yet though he could not hear, he chose as often as health would permit, to be present at public worship, that he might set a good example before others.

During his valetudinary years he employed himself in composing and compiling for the press. The works thus published, he distributed gratis, seeking no other reward but the conscious satisfaction of intending and doing good. Though he lived not to see this volume printed, he had given directions how to dispose of two hundred and fifty copies at a distance, reserving the remaining number to be distributed nearer home. This was but one mode of his liberality, but as we mean not to enter into a minute specification of his numerous benefactions, we close this account by observing that the CENTENARY TRACES ought to be considered as his last legacy to his descendants, relatives, and all his religious friends, especially the general baptists,

PREFACE.

THE holy religion of Jesus is not given in the form of a creed, the dogmas of which proscribe the exercise of reason, and interdict the unsophisticated dictates of conscience; but is proposed to our *understanding* as rational and moral agents. Its doctrines claim our assent and command our faith, by the light of its own evidence, and not by the offensive constraints of human tests and civil powers.

As by reasoning on the works of nature we discover the Being and infer the perfections of its author, so it is by the exercise of reason that we perceive the beauty, fitness and truth of the doctrines of revelation, and the necessity of our assent to them; “Reason

marks the man, and faith the christian ; not faith in a compilation of human articles, generally made up of heterogeneous particulars rising out of detached sentences ; but faith in Christ, or a believing that he is the Messiah. When Peter made this confession, Jesus told him, *Upon this rock will I build my church*, and he added, *the gates of hell shall not prevail against it*. Human power and policy have prevailed against every form of worship, and every kind of creed, but they have never been able to dissuade the disciples of Jesus from believing that he is the Christ: as no art can establish the former, so no efforts can effect the latter.” *Robinson’s Hist. of Baptism*, p. 557.

But is this faith all that is absolutely necessary to salvation? Are not some other things so, in their own nature? “We call those things absolutely necessary, without which there can be no salvation at all. Thus, a mind suited to the happiness intended by the word *salvation*, is absolutely necessary ; or holiness, *without which no man shall see the Lord*. All the titles in the world to heaven, can never give the plea-

sure of heaven, without a suitableness to its enjoyments. Fitness, here, is as the eye to the delights of colours and prospects; the ear to the pleasures of harmony; and as the palate to those of taste and relish; that is, a capacity of enjoyment. As there must be an animal nature for animal pleasures, a rational nature for the rational ones, so there must be a divine and heavenly nature for those that are divine and heavenly: no man would care to live even with a God whom he did not love."

"No merely positive appointments are necessary in this sense; that is, absolutely, and in their own nature. If there never had been a sacrament in the world, I might have been happy without it: you cannot say so of love to God and likeness to him."

"A disposition to obey divine orders, wherever they are discerned, either positive or moral, is part of that *holiness, without which no man shall see the Lord*. I may be saved without a sacrament; but I cannot be saved without a disposition to obey God's authority wherever I see it: a sacrament is a positive rite,

and not to be compared with moral virtue; but is not a disposition to obey God's order, moral virtue and christian grace? Or can there be any moral virtue, or christian grace, without a disposition to obey the authority of Christ, wherever I discern it? Surely obedience to God's command is a moral excellence, though the instances of that obedience may lie in positive rites. The command to Abraham, to sacrifice his son was a positive order, and a very strange one too; seemingly opposite to some moral orders given out before; and yet his disposition to obey, when he was sure of a divine warrant in the case, has set him as the head of all the believing world; as the hero of faith, the father of the faithful, and the friend of God. The command of sprinkling the blood of the passover upon the door posts of the Israelites, was an external positive rite; if there had not been a disposition to obey that order, it would have cost some lives. Was not the forbidden fruit, a positive instance? An external thing? Setting aside the divine prohibition, there was nothing immoral in eating of that,

any more, than of any other tree ; but disobedience is an immorality, let the instance be what it will."

" The sincerity and truth of such a disposition is best known by its being uniform and universal. The author of our religion has told us, and added his example to his word, that, *thus it becometh us to fulfil all righteousness*. And so ordered himself to be baptised. Baptism was a positive rite, an external thing; and yet he calls it *righteousness*. Such righteousness as became Him who was the Holy One of God ; became Him who had intrinsically no need of any outward ceremony ; whose inward purity was perfectly divine : and if it became Him to fulfil such sort of righteousness, it can hardly become any, who pretend to be his followers, to neglect it." *B. P. E. p. 11, 12, 13.*

It appears then that God has been pleased to require something more than faith, or the believing that Jesus is the Messiah the Saviour of the world. And from the example of our Lord, and his practice of baptizing those who believed, we may

learn, that believers should comply with his will, and honour him in this positive rite. This is further confirmed by the command of Jesus to his disciples : Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature. He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved,—*Mark* xvi. 15, 16. As this command stands unrepealed, it appears still to be obligatory on his disciples.

Mr. Wesley observes, that “ The rites instituted by Christ himself were only two, and these designed to continue to the end of his church here below, *without any variation*. These rites were *Baptism* and the Holy Supper; which are not to be considered as mere ceremonies; but also as ordinances accompanied with a sanctifying influence on the hearts of true Christians.” —*Eccles. Hist. Cent. I. Part II. chap. iv. s. 4.*

The maintainance of these rites, the Lord Jesus left to his humble, sincere and faithful followers; and his faithful servants should remember that, “ The ordinances of Christianity are not their’s, but that they are intrusted by the Divine Legislator with

the use of them, and ought not to dispose of them without a direction from him ; and he hath not given them any order in scripture, to administer the ordinances of his religion to infants.”—*Robinson’s Hist. Bap.* p. 476.

But in Europe many professing Christians, have changed both the subject and the mode of baptism, without any order from the Lord, and have denominated those who continued to obey him by immersing believers, Anabaptists by way of reproach; perhaps without considering that it was from conscientious principles, that they continued, and endeavoured to maintain the ordinance of Baptism, according to the example, original design, and command of their Lord. And also from a conviction, that if they gave up, or vacated that, they also vacated their right, or title, to the gracious promise annexed to it.

With a view of tracing those who have observed it in its primitive order, through successive centuries to the establishment of the Reformation ; I have taken the following extracts from different Authors, and as

there are many from the undermentioned,
the reader is desired to notice, that

R. H. B. refers to Robinson's History of
Baptism.

R. E. R. to his Ecclesiastical Researches.

B. P. E. to Booth's Pedobaptism Examined.

CENTENARY T R A C E S,

§c. §c. §c.

Century the First.

NOW in the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius Cæsar, Pontius Pilate being governor of Judea, and Herod being Tetrarch of Galilee—The word of God came unto John the son of Zacharias, in the wilderness. And he came into all the country about Jordan, preaching the baptism of repentance for the remission of sins.—Luke iii, 1, 2, 3.

The Evangelists seem to think it of consequence to affirm, that John's conduct originated in a divine call.—Three of them observe, “ That the coming of this extraor-

dinary man, had been foretold by the prophet Isaiah ; and a fourth describes him as *a man sent from God*, which is further confirmed by Jesus, who declared, that *the Baptism of John was from heaven, and not of men.*"

To ascertain the precise meaning of the word Baptism, it is sufficient to observe, that the word is confessedly Greek, that native Greeks must understand their own language better than foreigners, and that they have always understood the word Baptism to signify dipping ; and therefore from their first embracing of Christianity to this day, they have always baptized, and do yet baptize by immersion. This is an authority for the meaning of the word baptize infinitely preferable to that of European lexicographers ; so that a man who is obliged to trust human testimony, and who baptizes by immersion, because the Greeks do, understands a greek word exactly as the Greeks themselves understand it ; and in this case the Greeks are unexceptionable guides, and their practice is in this instance safe ground of action.

The very learned Dr. John Gale, whose

accurate knowledge of the Greek was never doubted, hath traced the original word in prophane writers, and hath proved that with the Greeks, *bapto* signified I dip, *baptai* dyers, *baphia* a dye-house, *bapsis* dying by dipping, *bammata* dying drugs, *baphikee* the art of dying, *dibaphos* double dyed, *baptisterion* a dying vat, &c. *R. H. B. p. 7.*

Beza, one of the Reformers says, Christ commands us to be baptized, by which word it is certain immersion is signified—*Baptizesthai*, in this place is more than *Cherniptein* because *that* seems to respect the whole body, *this* only the hands. Nor does *Baptizein*, signify to wash except by consequence: for it properly signifies to immerse for the sake of dying. To be baptized in water, signifies no other than to be immersed in water; which is the external ceremony in baptism. *Baptizo* differs from the verb *danai* which signifies, to-plunge in the deep and to drown; as appears from that verse of an ancient oracle *Askos baptize, danai de toi o ' themis esi*; in which these two terms are distinguished as

expressing different ideas.—*B. P. E.* vol.
. p. 46.

“ Our English translators did not translate the word baptize, and they acted wisely; for there is no one word in the English language which is an exact counterpart of the Greek word, as the New Testament uses it, containing the precise ideas of the Evangelists, neither less nor more. The difficulty, or rather excellence of the word is, that it contains two ideas, inclusive of the whole doctrine of baptism. Baptize is a dyer’s word, and signifies to dip so as to colour. Such as render the word dip give one true idea, but the word stood for two, and one is wanting in this rendering. The word then conveys two ideas, the one literal, *dipping*; the other figurative, *colouring*; a figure however expressive of a real fact, meaning that John by bathing persons in the river Jordan, conferred a character, a moral hue, as dyers by dipping in a dying vat set a tinct or colour; John by baptism, discriminating the disciples of Christ from other men, as dyers by colouring distinguish stuffs. Hence John is called by the early

Latins, John *tinctor*, the exact latin of Johannes baptistes, John 'the Baptist.'—*R. H. B. p. 6.*

Then cometh Jesus from Galilee to Jordan unto John, to be baptized of him. But John forbad him, saying, I have need to be baptized of thee, and comest thou to me?

By this it seems that when a perfect character presented for baptism, John was at a loss what to do. This character was the spotless Son of God, who needed no repentance; who when John hesitated, said to him, *suffer it to be so now; for thus it becometh us to fulfil all righteousness. Then he suffered him. And Jesus when he was baptized, went up straightway out of the water: and lo the heavens were opened unto him, and he saw the Spirit of God descending like a dove and lighting upon him; and lo! a voice from heaven, saying; This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased.—Matt. 3.*

Here it may be observed that perfection excuseth not from obedience, and by contrasting the conduct of the holy Jesus with that of some others, we may see the dif-

ference between a person who really possesses genuine goodness, piety and excellence; and that of one who imagines he possesses them. The Lord Jesus possessed these qualities in the highest degree, and he desired to be baptized; but the Pharisees and Lawyers who imagined that they possessed them, rejected the council of God, and were not baptized. "God I thank thee that I am not as other men," was the language of one of them. Publicans and Harlots may be baptized, but we, who are so pious, so perfect, and so much in the favour of God, need it not.

The Lord Jesus some little time after his baptism enters on his public ministry, teaching in Galilee; and then came into the land of Judea with his disciples, and tarried there with them and baptized; many coming to his baptism. *John* iii. 22, 26. Making and baptizing more disciples than John; though 'tis said that he himself baptized not, but his disciples. *John* iv. 1, 2. Jesus taught the people, and when any believed in him, then his disciples baptized

After his resurrection he began his reign in the kingdom promised him by God his father, by the mouth of the prophet David, saying, I have set my king upon my holy hill of Sion.—Thou art my son; this day have I begotten thee. Ask of me and I shall give thee the heathen for thine inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for thy possession. *Psalm* ii. Then he assembled his disciples, and made known to them the power he had received, saying All power is given unto me in heaven and in earth. And in consequence of his legislative authority he gave them this commission, go ye therefore, and teach all nations; baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost: teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you: and, lo, I am with you even unto the end of the world. *Matt.* xxviii. 18, 19, 20.

This commission to teach and baptize was in perfect conformity to the doctrine he had taught them before his death; and it was now completely established as his law by this command. And the proof of his

legislative authority was fully confirmed at the day of Pentecost, by the descent of the Holy Ghost, and the gift of tongues.

In obedience to this command they proclaimed the Gospel, not only to the Jews, but to the Gentiles in distant nations, receiving and baptizing all those who professed faith in Christ, as the Messiah, the Saviour of the world. This appears from many instances both among the Jews and Gentiles.

At Jerusalem Peter and the rest of the Apostles preached the gospel, and when many were pricked in their hearts, Peter commanded them to repent and be baptized; and they that gladly received his word were baptized. *Acts ii.*

The Samaritans, after they believed Philip preaching the things concerning the kingdom of God, and the name of Jesus Christ, were baptized, both men and women. *Acts viii. 12.*

The Eunuch upon Philip's preaching to him, and the evidence he gave, that he believed in Jesus Christ with all his heart was baptized. *Acts viii. 35*

Paul after his conversion, and believing in Christ was baptized by Ananias at Damascus. *Acts ix.*

Cornelius and his friends, upon the evidence of their faith in Jesus, were baptized at Cesarea. *Acts x.*

Lydia and her household believing in the Lord, were baptized at Philippi by Paul. *Acts xvi. 14.*

The Jailor, at the same place, believing in the Lord with all his house, were baptized by Paul and Silas. *Acts xvi. 33, 34.*

The Corinthians hearing and believing were baptized by Paul, or his companions. *Acts xviii. 8.*

The Colossians were baptized in like manner. *Col. ii. 10, 11, 12.*

The Believing Romans were also baptized. *Rom. vi. 3.*

The Galatians believing in Christ were baptized. *Gal. iii. 26, 27.*

The Ephesians also upon profession of faith were baptized. *Acts xix. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5.*

From all this it appears that John, the Lord Jesus Christ, their disciples, and the first Christians were BAPTISTS.

The testimonies of several learned authors may be produced, not by way of proof, but only, because it may be of weight with some to hear what Pedobaptist authors say of the matter; and because it shews they allow that not only scripture but antiquity is altogether for believers, and not for infant baptism.

The Magdeburgiusian Centuriators speak of baptism in this Century, thus.

First. As to the subjects of baptism, that in this age they find they baptized only the Adults, or aged, whether Jews or Gentiles, whereof they say we have instances: But as to the baptizing of infants they confess they read of no example.

Secondly, As to the administrators of baptism they find that other ministers of the Church besides the Apostles did baptize.

Thirdly. As to the place of baptism they find it was as occasion offered, where rivers and fountains and other conveniences for baptizing were.

Fourthly. As to the time when it was to be done; they say, they find it to be at

any fit season; no certain day nor feast being appropriated thereto.

Fifthly. As to the manner of baptizing it was by dipping or plunging in the water, in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, which was (they say) so agreeable not only to the sense of the word which signifies immersion in water, but to the Allegory of Death, burial, and resurrection; to which the Apostle so properly alludes. *Rom. vi. Col. ii.* As also to the many places, where it is used for the *washing away* of sin; as *St. Peter iii. Heb. ii. 10. Eph. v. Titus iii.* and in the *xxii. of the Acts*, where they observe that *Ananias commands Paul to be baptized, and to wash away his Sins.*

Sixthly. As to the ceremonies; they tell us, the parties baptized did *freely come* and offer *themselves* professing their faith; though not in any *formal* way of confession; which was afterwards enjoined. *Cent. i. L. ii, Chap. vi. p. 496, 497, Edit. of Basil in 7 tomes. Danvers p. 46, 47.*

SALMASIUS. "*Baptism, is immersion; and was administered in Ancient times accord-*

ing to the force and meaning of the word. Now it is only *rhantism* or sprinkling, not immersion, or dipping." *De Cæsaria Verorum* p. 669.

GURLLERUS. " *To Baptize*, among the Greeks, is undoubtedly to immerse, to dip; and baptism is immersion, dipping—The thing commanded by our Lord, is baptism, immersion into the water." *Institut. Theol. Cap. xxxii. S. 108, 109, 110, 115.*

VITRINGA. "The act of baptizing is, the immersion of believers in water. This expresses the force of the word. Thus also it was performed by Christ and his Apostles." *Aphorisma Sanet Theolog. Aphoriz, 834.*

BISHOP FOWLER. Christians being plunged into the water in baptism, signified their obliging themselves, in a spiritual sense, to die and be buried with Jesus Christ (which death and burial consists, in an utter renouncing and forsaking of all their sins) that so, answerable to his resurrection, they may live a holy and godly life. *Design of Christianity, Sect. i. Chap. viii. p. 79. Edit. 4.*

GROTIUS: "That baptism used to be performed by immersion, and not by pouring, appears both from the proper signification of the word, and the places chosen for the administration of the rite. *John* iii. 23. *Acts* viii. 38. And also from the many allusions of the Apostles, which cannot be referred to sprinkling. *Rom.* vi. 3, 4. *Col.* ii. 12. Apud POLUM, *Synops. Ad. Matt.* iii. 6.

BISHOP FELL. "The primitive fashion of immersion, under the water, representing our death, and elevation again out of it, our resurrection, or regeneration." On the Epistles of *Paul*. Note on *Rome.* vi. 4.

DANÆUS. "*Baptismos*, Baptism, is derived *apo tou Baptesthai*, or *Baptizesthai*: the former of which properly signifies *to dye*, the latter, *to immerse*, especially in water. But, as that which emerges out of the water appears to be washed, and fair, and clean; so the term baptism is frequently used in the holy scripture, for washing and cleansing." In *Leigh's Critica Sacra* under the word *Baptismos*. Edit. 2d.

A great many more extracts of like import taken from the writings of respectable Pedobaptist Authors may be found in *B. P. E.* and many in a smaller piece entitled *A concise view of the Evidence for believers Baptism*, published in 1812.

I will only add the testimony of Mr. J. Wesley, “In the earliest times of the Church all who professed firmly to believe that Jesus was the only Redeemer of the world, and who, in consequence of this profession, promised to live in a manner conformable to the purity of his religion, were received among the disciples of Christ. This was all the preparation for baptism then required; and a more accurate instruction into the doctrines of Christianity was to be administered to them after it.”—The sacrament of *baptism* was administered in this century, in places appointed for that purpose, and was performed by immersion of the whole body in water.” *Eccles. Hist. Cent. i. Part ii. Chap. iii. S. 4. and Chap. iv. S. 8.*

And the same writer is pleased to say—
“Let our Lord’s submitting to baptism,

teach us an holy exactness in the observance of those institutions which owe their obligation merely to a divine command, surely, thus it becometh all his followers to fulfil all righteousness." Note on *Matt.* iii. 16.

" It was for just and noble reasons, worthy of a wise and benevolent mind, that Jesus estimated John so highly as to pronounce him as great a man as had been born of woman: to which he added, the least in the kingdom of heaven is greater than he. It was a comparison between John and his predecessors, and John and his successors, in framing the new œconomy. He was greater than his predecessors, because he first introduced a moral assortment of Jews, a *kingdom of heaven* upon earth: he was less than the Apostles his successors, because under the direction of Jesus, they brought his plan to perfection, by assorting and incorporating Jews and Gentiles in societies expressly united for improvement of the mind, the meliorating of the heart, and the regulation of the life, a compact practice of piety, and an

uniform course of virtue, and so extending and establishing personal excellence, tending to unite all mankind in one family of universal love ; and he who under God gave a sketch of a design so pure, and so generous, ought to be reputed one of the first characters among mankind. How great then must he be, the latchet of whose shoes this great man was not worthy to unloose !”

R. H. B. p. 5.

“One of the most learned and judicious foreign writers hath observed, that the primitive church, like the Jews on their first coming out of Egypt, was under a regulation peculiar and divine, that as the Jews had their theocracy so Christians had their christocracy : that not the Apostles but the laws of Jesus reigned ; that no human powers civil or hierarchicál had any being in the church ; and that the Apostles assumed no honor to themselves but gave all the glory to God !” *Phil. Ja. Harlmanni. De Rebus Gestis Christ. Chap. iii. M. R. H. B. p. 610.* “It was necessary in the infancy of the church that miraculous

powers should be, but it was unnecessary that such powers should continue."

Nor was there any "absolute necessity for the presence of an Apostle; or any extraordinary persons to congregate a church. Any one baptized Christian was equal to the task, and there is great reason to believe innumerable churches have in all ages been formed so." God hath said by his prophet: "*I will pour out my Spirit upon thy seed, and my blessing upon thine offspring: and they shall spring up as among the grass, as willows by the water courses: one shall say, I am the Lord's, and another shall call himself by the name of Jacob, and another shall subscribe with his hand unto the Lord.*" R. H. B. p. 610, 635.

Century the Second.

THERE was among primitive Christians an uniform belief that Jesus was the Christ, and a perfect harmony of affection. When congregations multiplied so that they became too numerous to assemble in one place they parted into separate companies, and so again and again but there was no schism: on the contrary all held a common union, and a member of one company was a member of all. If any person removed from one place to reside at another, he received a letter of attestation, which was given and taken as proof, and this custom very prudently precluded the intrusion of impostors. In this manner was framed a catholic or universal church. One company never pretended to inspect the affairs of another, nor was there any dominion or any shadow of dominion over the consciences of any individuals. Overt acts

were the only objects of censure, and censure was nothing but voting a man out of the community.

That most learned and liberal foreign lawyer Bochmer, who never wrote superficially on any subject, hath investigated this with his usual accuracy and hath proved to a demonstration that the union of primitive Christians was precisely fraternal: that out of this which he calls the internal union of each congregation, rose another, which he names external, uniting several congregations together: that hence came communion or common union: and that all this was an affair of mutual esteem wholly unconnected with civil and political affairs, implying no obedience of one to another; or any kind of political subjection, to which, adds he, the court of Rome and every other hierarchy tend. *R. E. R. p.* 122, 123.

He "hath proved that the primitive discipline was not government but Christian order: that it was a brotherly confederacy against *vice*: that indeed the people were believers in Jesus, but that *virtue* and not

any mode of faith was the bond of union :— and that there was not, and could not be on the principles of the people any *civil* coercion, either to compel an entrance into the society, or to enforce virtue while members continued in it, or to punish them for departing from it.” *R. II. B. p. 595.*

Every person “ was admitted singly at his own request; by the consent of the whole society. Affairs were debated and transacted by all. Whoever were excluded were excommunicated by joint consent, and if they repented and requested re-admission, they were re-admitted in the same manner. Church officers were voluntarily elected for the sake of order.—The whole was a perfect state of popular freedom.” *R. E. R. p. 124.*

“ Writers of all denominations affirm, and a strict adherence to truth compels them to do so, that the churches of the earliest times were small independent societies, who assembled at least once a week on the first day, each in its own place to worship God: that in these assemblies prayer and praise were offered to the Deity by one at a time

in the name of the rest : that the holy scriptures were read, expounded, and enforced, and that giving instruction was open to all ; that the doctrines taught were few, plain and simple, taken immediately from the gospel : that the ceremonies were baptism of adults by immersion, and the Lord's Supper : and that the morals of the people were irreproachable.—*R. E. R. p. 50.*

About the year 140, Justin Martyr gives an account of the manner of solemnizing baptism which much corresponds with the history of it in the New Testament.

“ As many,” says he, “ as are persuaded and do believe that those things, which are taught and spoken by us are true, and engage to live accordingly, are instructed to pray, and to implore of God, with fasting, the forgiveness of past sins, we praying and fasting together with them. They are then led by us to a place, where there is water, and they are born again with the same new birth as we were. For in the name of God, the Father of all, and of our Saviour Jesus Christ, and of the Holy Spirit they are washed in water ; for Christ

said ‘unless ye be born again, ye shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven.’ “We learned,” he adds, “the reason of this from the Apostles, that since we were born at first, without knowledge, by necessity, and brought up in wicked customs, we should not continue children of necessity and ignorance, but of choice and knowledge, and receive forgiveness of our former sins by water.”—*Barker’s Duty, Circumstances and Benefit of Baptism*, p. 65.

“It has been justly remarked upon this passage, that as Justin has spoken of Christians, as Christians, not as converts, it is the baptism of Christians in general he ought to describe, for all are baptised. And Justin’s reason for baptism, that religion should be a work of *choice* and not of *necessity* as our first birth was, takes in both native and convert Christians, but expressly excludes infants, for to them baptism must be as much a work of ignorance, as their birth.” Again, “they are born again with the same new birth as we were,” that is, as the members of the church were, which then consisted as much or more of native Christians.

as converts. *Barker*, p. 65, 66. “*Toul-min’s Four Discourses*, p. 50, 51. While this passage is thus conclusive as to the subjects and extent of baptism, it is proper to observe, that a circumstance is mentioned here, as attending the ordinance, which has no precedent, or countenance in the New Testament, namely, joining *fasting* with it. It should be also added, that Justin represents baptism under three different views, which though not explicitly pointed out, seem to have some sanction from the New Testament, namely, being “made new,” “a new birth,” and “an illumination.”

And authors observe that a spirit of innovation in the introduction of rites and ceremonies; and also a variety of sentiments, soon prevailed among some of the leading men, and the most populous churches in this century. This appears to have been the case in the Jewish church before. Whoever examines the scriptures may find a variety of instances which shew it. One may be sufficient. *Israel served the Lord all the days of Joshua, and all the days of the Elders who overlived Joshua.*—

Josh. xxxiv, 31. But after their departure, the major part of them forsook the commandments of the Lord, *and went a whoring*, as the Psalmist says, *with their own inventions*, 106, 39. And the conduct of many Christians appears to have been similar. The Apostles laboured hard to make converts to Christ, and faithfully watched over the churches; yet even in their days, the mystery of iniquity began to work.—2 Thes. ii, 7. And before the death of John, there was a Diotrephes who aimed at the pre-eminence, and cast some of the brethren out of the church—*John* iii, 9. And after the departure of John, those who were inclined to usurp authority; those who wished to innovate, and introduce their own doctrines and inventions; and those who were for introducing a part of the Jewish and Pagan theology into Christianity, in order to conciliate the minds of the Jews and Pagans to it, and bring them into the church, found opportunities and means to promote their designs.

Mr. Wesley says truly, “There is no institution so excellent which the corrup-

tion and folly of men will not in time alter for the worse, and load it with additions foreign to its nature and original design. Such was the fate of Christianity. In this century many unnecessary rites and ceremonies were added to the Christian worship: these changes, while they destroyed the beautiful simplicity of the gospel, were pleasing to the gross multitude, who were more delighted with the splendor of external institutions, than with the native charms of rational and solid piety.”—*Eccles. Hist. Cent. ii, Part ii, chap. iv. sect. 1.*

Theophilus, Bishop of Antioch, first made use of the word trinity, to express what divines call persons in the Godhead; on which first Mosheim, and after him Dr. King, makes this just reflection, “The christian church is very little obliged to him for his invention. The use of this, and other unscriptural terms, to which men attach either no ideas or false ones; has destroyed charity and peace without promoting truth or knowledge. It has produced heresies of the worst kind.”—*Mosheim’s Chra-*

nological tables, Cent. ii. Dr. King's Rites of the Greek Church, p. 7.

Mr. Wesley also says, " The sacrament of *Baptism* was administered publicly twice every year, at the festivals of Easter and Pentecost or Whitsuntide, either by the *bishop* or the *presbyter*, in consequence of his appointment. The persons that were to be baptised, after they had repeated the *creed*, confessed and renounced their sins, and particularly the *Devil*, and his works, were *immersed under water*; and received into Christ's kingdom, by a solemn invocation of *Father, Son, and Holy Ghost*, according to the express command of our Lord. After baptism they received the *sign of the cross*, were *anointed*; and by *prayers and imposition of hands*, solemnly commended to the mercy of God, and dedicated to his service; in consequence of which they received *milk and honey*, which concluded the ceremony."—*Ecclesi Hist. cent. ii. part ii. chap. iv. sect. 9.*

From hence we may see, how early the ordinance of baptism was loaded by some professors of the gospel, with " additions .

foreign to its nature, and original design."

And in a few centuries after, infants were supposed to be fit subjects of it.

Century the Third.

TOWARD the latter end of the second century, most of the churches assumed a new form, the first simplicity disappeared; and insensibly as the old disciples retired to their graves, their children, along with new converts, both Jews and Gentiles, came forward and new-modelled the cause. The first, and the most fatal of all events to the primitive religion, was the setting up of a Christian academy at Alexandria in Egypt. Christians had been reproached with illiteracy, and this seemed a plausible method to get rid of the scandal. This school was first kept by Pantænus, whom Clement first assisted and then succeeded, as Origen did him. Each improved on his predecessor, and all together invented questions about the christian religion sufficient to perplex and puzzle the whole world. From a wild enthusiastical philosopher of Alexandria,

named Ammanius Saceas, these men imbibed a chaos of gross errors called philosophy, because it was the production of idle men, who concealed their love of ease under the specious name of love of wisdom : vain questions about matter and spirit, the whole and the parts, human souls, demons, and the first great cause ; time, place, circumstances of events, were all applied by these men to the christian religion, and the inspired writers were put on the rack and tortured to give answers and determine points, of which probably they had never heard the names, and never entertained a thought. Here youth were bewildered under pretence of being taught — here the most dangerous of all rules of interpreting scripture was laid down ; and the tutors first amazed themselves with it, and then distracted the minds of their pupils. This was, “ that scripture had a double sense, the one obvious and literal, the other hidden and mysterious, which lay concealed as it were under the veil of the outward letter. The former they treated with the utmost neglect, and turned the whole force

of their genius and application to unfold the latter ; or in other words, they were more studious to darken the holy scriptures with their idle fictions, than to investigate their true and natural sense." These are the words of that excellent historian, Dr. Mosheim.—*Mosheim's Eccles. Hist. cent. ii. part ii. chap. i. and chap. iii.*

Some Christians foresaw the mischief which this school would produce, and remonstrated against it, but they soon sunk into neglect and contempt. Time, however, hath discovered, that their fears were not groundless, for from this intoxicated house proceeded in a regular train most of the evils that have since afflicted the church. Having laid down a double sense of scripture as a first principle, all the rest followed of course. The four gospels became hard books, common christians could not find out the meaning, for that lay in the mystical sense, consequently the aid of the school became necessary to inform them. In proportion as academics taught in the churches, and were applauded, unphilosophical and illiteral teachers were slighted. The title and dignity of philosophers delighted so

much these vain men, that they always appeared in the philosopher's cloak, so that a man able to teach was instantly known by his habit. The modest plain people retired and kept at due distance. Some churches chose these superior geniuses to teach them constantly, and called them from the school to settle among themselves, and they returned the favour by introducing mysteries, from which proceeded first disputes, and then councils of men of their own order to settle them.

Every effect produced by these causes became itself the cause of another effect ; every church had its hairesis or opinion, and it became of consequence to determine which was the right, for each teacher maintained his own with a great degree of gravity and obstinacy, which such a good man would not have done, if it had not been of the last importance to the salvation of his flock. To settle then the right hairesis, it was necessary for the churches to form a council of delegates, and who so proper to be elected for the solemn purpose as the bishop, the only one in the church who understood the subject and

knew how to defend it. In the assemblies, delegated bishops perfected themselves in the art of wrangling, acquired a tone of authority, and practised airs of self importance and dominion. Here too, for order sake, it was necessary to appoint a chairman, and him time metamorphosed into an arch or head bishop, and him again into a metropolitan, and the metropolitan again into a patriarch. Here these Christians lost their liberties. Here delegates became first the masters, and then the tyrants of the people. Here they determined their own hairesis or heresy to be the right opinion, or as they called it, orthodoxy; and the opinions of others to be only mere opinions unsupported by any learned arguments, and condemned to oblivion by the council, that is said they, by the whole church which Jesus purchased with his own precious blood. It was an enormous compliment which these gentlemen paid themselves. The gospel, said they, is evidently divine, because nothing but the miraculous power of God could support it in the hands of illiterate men: As if they and their quirks were to all suc-

ceeding ages to supply the miraculous power of God."—*R. E. R.* p. 52, 53.

Heretics, to use the Greek style, "paid no regard to all this. They formed churches, taught their own doctrines, and held separate assemblies every where. There was Hermonages, a painter; Hieræ, a bookseller; and great numbers more who followed their own convictions, taught churches, and probably were men of more zeal, than that most numerous party who called themselves the catholic and orthodox church, and who calumniated all the rest as heretics, who troubled the peace of Israel."

"Spanheim found out ten reasons for the defections of Christians from the primitive simplicity, but professor Bochmer, with a clearness of thought and a simplifying precision peculiar to superior geniusses, found two sufficient to produce all the bad effects that followed; the one was, the introduction of Jewish and Pagan ceremonies; the other, corruption of their own morals; and the first was the parent of the last. Ceremonies as he observes, have a natural tendency to catch, and fix, and satiate

the eye, and so to divert the attention from that spirituality in which the purity of divine worship consists. Ceremonies require regulations, regulations are laws, laws are nothing without sanctions, penal sanctions inflicted and suffered disturb mens' tempers; the temper of the uppermost is that of a tyrant, the temper of the underling is that of a free rebel or a slave. Hence confusion and every evil work."

By slow degrees, this Jewish theology depraved the church and subverted the primitive order, by losing the old idea of a confederacy against vice, and by elevating the servants of the church into inspectors, and watchmen, and guides, and masters, and monarchs, who as they rose, sunk the people in due proportion, first into carelessness through confidence, next into inability through ignorance, and lastly into the most abject slavery; when tyranny was played off for virtue, and to stamp the people into dust and ashes was the only method of acquiring distinction and wealth, honor, ease, and everlasting reputation. On these piteous ruins rose the saintship of

Cyprian, Austen and Beckét; and, theology converted these dregs of the world into oracles of God. It should seem, the Africans who never varied a tint from the old Carthaginian family likeness, were the first who imagined a Christian Aaron, an universal bishop. Victor, bishop of Rome, was an African, and he was the first bishop who presumed to send an order to all the churches of Asia, to keep the passover when he did, for he kept it, forsooth, when Peter did. Polycrates bishop of Ephesus, sent him word, in the name of all the bishops of Asia, that they would not alter their custom, for they kept the passover when John kept it, and John had not only laid his head on the bosom of the Lord, but also he was a priest, and had worn a sacerdotal breast plate. Victor, with true African rage, got together a few neighbouring Levites, held a meeting, which he named a council, and excommunicated all the bishops of the east. Cyprian, that other Carthaginian zealot, excommunicated Stephen, bishop of Rome, because truly, he would not re-baptise heretics, as the African's ordered him. Stephen returned the compliment, and in this manner they cursed

and combated till the Roman bishop obtained the victory ! These professors were half Jews, who thought christianity would be mightily improved by inserting the Jewish ritual into christian practice. Of this sort were all the saints, and Jerom expressly says, what Moses and Aaron, and the Levites were among the Jews, that teachers and church officers ought to be in the christian church. These, to speak strictly, were more properly reformed Jews, than Christians born again. To attempt to prove this would be holding a torch to the sun ! *R. E. R. p. 134, 135.*

A late learned prelate says, truly, " It was Judaism misunderstood, that supported them in their ill-judged schemes. They travestied obscure uncertainties, nay manifest errors into truth ; and sought in philosophy and logic analogies and quibbles to support them. They did not know that the more perfect dispensation could not take place, till the less perfect, which prefigured it, and prepared its way, was set aside and abolished." *Bishop Warburton's Julian. Introduction, xxviii. xxxii. Jul. 8.*

What is all church history but an account

of people who under the name of Christians lived as the Jews lived? Had the Jews a priesthood? so had they. Had the Jews a priest of priests, an high priest? They had one in prospect and each aimed to be the man. Did the Jews keep the passover and worship God by rituals? So did they. Had the Jews ecclesiastical courts? So had they. Were the Jews governed by traditions of elders? So were they. Had the Jews a temple and an altar and a sacrifice? So had they. Did they place religion in the performance of ceremonies, and not in the practice of virtue? So did they. Have the Jews monopolized God, and hated all mankind except themselves? So have they. There is no occasion to search for any other cause: this is equal to all the effects. Draw the attention of the mind from the seat of virtue within, and fix it on the show without; no matter what it is, piety is interrupted, the exercise of virtue is suspended, the mind is under a preparation to sin, and the next step is the actual commission of it!

R. E. R. p. 135.

Thus it was that in this century Jewish theology drew off the attention of Christians

from the simplicity of Jesus and the Gospel, particularly in the great corrupt and wealthy churches of Rome, Antioch, Alexandria, and Carthage. Mosheim says, "The most respectable writers of that age have put it out of the power of an historian to spread a veil over the enormities of ecclesiastical rulers. By a train of vice, they were sunk in luxury and voluptuousness, puffed up with vanity, arrogance, and ambition, possessed with a spirit of contention and discord, and addicted to many other vices. The bishop assumed a princely authority, was exalted above his equals, and had a throne surrounded with ministers. Presbyters followed their example, neglected their duties, and abandoned themselves to the indulgence and delicacy of an effeminate and luxurious life. Deacons imitated their superiors, and the effects of a corrupt ambition were spread through every rank of the sacred order! *Eccles. Hist. cent. iii. chap. v.* Divisions and heresies.

The greatest degree of corruption appears to have prevailed in Africa. There many of the clergy kept mistresses, whom they called single sisters, or beloveds. There

the seeds of infant baptism seem to have been first sown. The Jews long before supposed that something of a depravity attended infants on account of the sins of their fathers. And the Pagans seemed to have supposed that they came into the world in a polluted state, and therefore stood in need of lustration, or purification by water. Their custom was this, the water was first consecrated, then the infant was sprinkled; a name was given at the same time, accompanied with various solemnities, and the child was then carried to the temples of the Gods, and held initiated, &c. *R. H. B. p. 420.*

In the year two hundred and fifty-seven, Cyprian, bishop of Carthage, held an African council, and they supposed the sin of Adam was the cause of the pollution of infants, and that baptism was necessary to save them. They reasoned thus, Elisha raised a dead child to life. Jesus came to save all: therefore we should do all we can to save them: beside they say, infants came into the world crying for baptism. *R. H. B. p. 197.*

As the Pagan Africans were much addicted to offering children to idols, it seems likely

when they professed the gospel, they might be as much inclined to offer them to God. Salviani, an author of good repute, "suspected the children were dedicated to Jesus by law, and to the old dæmon of the country by choice." *R. H. B. p. 182.* He knew the Africans well, and says of them, "In spite of their vain boasts of an orthodox faith, they were pagans and blasphemers, who worshipped idols in secret, and dedicated their children in their infancy to dæmons." *R. E. R. p. 105.*

The Apostle Paul foretold, that some would "*depart from the faith, giving heed to seducing spirits, and doctrines of devils.*" I. Tim. iv. i. And bishop Newton hath proved, beyond all reasonable contradiction, that the Apostle of the Gentiles guarded Christians against the doctrines of dæmons, that is, doctrines of which dæmons were the subjects; and that he foretold, the grand apostacy would consist in this doctrine reduced to practice. *Bishop Newton on the Prophecies. Vol. II. Diss. 20.*

If infant baptism made any progress, it seems to have been confined to Africa, for,

“ during the first three centuries, Christian congregations all over the east subsisted in separate independent bodies, unsupported by government, and consequently without any secular power over one another. All this time they were baptised churches. And all the baptisms mentioned by writers of these times, are those of adults, not one of infants.

“ Not one natural infant of any description appears in the church of Rome, during the first three centuries, and immersion was the only method of baptising. Professor Bochmer, with his usual accuracy, makes a just distinction in regard to the place of baptism. The place of administering baptism, says he, was not the church, but a river, in which people were dipped in presence of witnesses. At Rome, Peter first baptised in the Tiber; but afterward, when Christians were persecuted, they baptised in lavers in the baths: and it is doubtful whether they had any baptisteries, properly so called, before the fourth century. Bede’s history of the first baptisms in England, is an exact coun-

terpart of the histories of most places of note in Italy ; there, as here, the first teachers administered this ordinance in rivers, or in the sea." *R. E. R. p. 130. ibid. p. 131.*

Tertullian says, " that candidates for baptism made a profession of faith twice; once in the church, that is before the congregation in the place where they were assembled to worship, and then again when they came to the water ; and it is quite indifferent whether it were the sea, or a pool, a lake, a river, or a bath. *R. H. B. p. 58.* That well known sentence of his, " we are made, but not born Christians," expresses the sense of the whole primitive church. Again, when describing the manner of baptising in his time, he says, " Men's minds were hardened against it, because the person (to be baptised) was brought down into the water without pomp, without any new ornament or sumptuous preparation, and dipped at the pronounciation of a few words.

Century the Fourth.

WHEN Constantine and Licinius published the first imperial law in favour of christianity, the preamble set forth, that religion could not be forced, and that the conscience of every man ought to be free. Jews, Pagans, and Christians had all a mutual interest in preserving this just maxim untainted and pure ; and it is to Christians and to that class of Christians, who took the arrogant titles of orthodox and catholic in opposition to some other Christians, wiser and better than themselves, that the violation of this just maxim is to be attributed. Perhaps it may be a sacrificing of the cause of the liberty and virtue of the world to redeem the broken credit of a few, to call them Christians at all. Certain it is, the virtuous Manicheans thought they were only pagan schismatics, acting vice in the name of the most virtuous of beings, Jesus Christ, whose

character would sink in the same proportion as theirs rose — *R. E. R.* p. 194.

One proof, among many, of the manifest falsehood of the charges brought against the ancient heretics by the fathers is, that they are precisely the same which the Pagans brought against the primitive Christians themselves. Them the Pagans taxed with atheism, incest, infanticide, sedition, illiteracy, magic, worshipping the head of an ass, corrupting the sybelline oracles, and so on. Apologists attacked these rumours, and refuted these popular charges with regard to themselves and their own parties; but they endeavoured to suppress other communities, by repeating the same charges against them. "The case was the same with the fathers in respect to heretics," says Mr. Bayle, "as with the heathens in respect to christianity. Is it not more reasonable to believe, that the fathers did not, with all the patience requisite, thoroughly inform themselves of the real principles of a sect, than it is to believe that those very men, who held that Jesus Christ by his death was the saviour of mankind, should at

the same time hold, that the beastliest pleasures are the ready way to paradise?

The same observation may serve for all periods; for the first calumniators of good men, in the early ages of the world, invented scandals, which have been successively used by Pagans against Jews, by Jews against Christians, and by Catholics against Protestants of all kinds. Most of these tales, and the arguments that supported them, originated in fraud; and were authenticated by folly; and while power was supporting their credit, time rolled on and antiquity became argument. It is, however, a pleasure to observe, that the same great principles of liberty which justify any profession of christianity, will support the claims of every society of Christians and of every individual, to a perfect freedom of acting according to their own convictions.—*R.E.R.* p. 10, 11.

One of the greatest evils that the introduction of scholastical divinity into the christian church produced was, that cruel spirit of slander which from that day to this

hath aspersed the characters of the dead, and perplexed the minds of the living.

Not to believe what haughty dogmatists affirmed to be true, was reckoned a crime, and it was meritorious to excommunicate an heretic; to torment him with books of intricate sophistry, to tax him with errors which nobody held, and crimes which were never committed, to destroy his answers, and to deliver his name down to posterity to be held in perpetual execration. That there were great numbers of Christians in the second and third centuries, who held the various opinions that are held now on the points in dispute, cannot be doubted; but where the crime of doing so lay, none but a man mad with orthodoxy and intolerance, could ever yet discover. Hence that perpetual and almost impenetrable darkness which the insignificant opinions, false virtues, and wonderful miracles of the saints, interlined by way of contrast with the damnable heresies, infernal vices, and horrible deaths of heretics shed over all ancient ecclesiastical history. The orthodox were busily employed in such good works as

these, when a revolution took place in their affairs, by the removal of the seat of empire from Rome to Bysantium, which from hence is to be named from Constantine the Emperor, Constantinople.

Eleven years before this time a violent dispute had broke out at Alexandria, between Alexander, the bishop of the church; and Arius, one of the presbyters, concerning the nature of Jesus Christ. Origen had paved the way by affirming that the son was in God, what reason is in man, and that the Holy Ghost was only the energy of God. This is a species of what is called Sabellianism; Alexander affirmed that the Son was of the same essence with the Father: Arius on the contrary held, that the Son was essentially different from the Father, but that he was the first and most excellent of all creatures; that the Father had created him out of nothing, the first of all his works, and by him had created the world. The disputes occasioned by these subtilties were agitated with so much violence, that government thought it necessary to take cognizance of it: the Emperor Constantine acted with

great moderation and condescension, he thought the dispute insignificant, and in a friendly letter, advised the parties to settle their differences amicably. As they would not do so, the emperor summoned a council of the whole church to meet at Nice in Bythynia to put an end to the dispute. There were, it is said, more than two thousand catholic bishops in the christian world, and probably as many heretical bishops, but only three hundred and eighteen met A. D. 325. Arius was condemned, and Jesus was declared consubstantial, or of the same essence with the Father. This was the first general council that ever was held in the world, and the decrees were enforced on all Christians by the civil power. Here then Christian liberty was first publicly executed by law.”—*R. E. R. p. 60.* The ruling party declared themselves the only Christians, for they believed the Trinity, and all the rest were heretics, bound over to present and eternal perdition. “Constantine made exorbitant grants from the crown to the church. Julian very wisely resumed them; and humourously told the

clergy, that he only did so to relieve them, from incumbrances, needless and even dangerous to gentlemen who were all bound to heaven."—*R. E. R.* p. 144.

John the Baptist had come preaching virtue, to make ready a people for the Lord: but these Jewish Christians had been preaching up Judaism, to make the people ready for secular dominion. They had incorporated the whole of the old œconomy into their system, which wanted nothing to complete it, except a David to fight the battles of the Lord. They had laid down a principle the very worst in the world, that the majority was always in the right, and on this as on the sand, they erected their hierarchy, denominated it the church, and when the Emperor Constantine espoused the party, they set him on the top like a gilded statue, less to govern than to grace the building. They never lost sight of the primitive maxim, that civil government ought not to be exercised over the church: but they converted it into a monstrous sophism, teeming with ten thousand ills.

It is to the honour of all the heretics and

schismatics of the empire, that they bore a practical testimony against this ecclesiastical tyranny. By professing themselves Christians, they disowned the pontifical power of paganism ; and by separating from the great party of Christians, they practically denied the pontifical dominion of judaism. This, it should seem, is the true ground of all the slanders cast upon them for denying the Old Testament, for execrating the God of the old œconomy, and for a thousand other things of the same kind ; all which it is highly probable, meant no more than that they distinguished order from government, approved of the first because it provided for liberty of conscience, and the practice of virtue ; and resisted the last, because it oppressed both, merely to make room for enthusiasm, servitude, and priesthood. These parties exactly answer the definition which the learned Bochmer gives of Christian churches. They were a sort of colleges, an union of colleagues, having order, but no government, and aiming at none ; and whose end in associating was fully answered without any, and to whom,

had the Emperor joined himself, he would have been a christian brother, but nothing more. In the world he would have been adorned with the pomp of his civil office, and would have exercised the power intrusted to him by the state ; and in the church he would have tasted the pleasures of devotion and friendship. Hewould have been an Emperor in the world, and a Christian in the church ; but not that motley character, a Christian Emperor every where : it was the assumption of this character that generated so many misfortunes.—*R. E. R.*
137.

But although the canons and opinions of this council were backed by the power and influence of the Emperor, which was very great, yet the Christians who refused to accede to them, were very numerous. “ It is not necessary to look for founders of these sects, for they were primitive Christians, who would not conform. They had, as an ancient writer says, neither head nor tail, neither princes nor legislators, and consequently no slaves ; they had no beginning and no end, and in this respect they answered one

of their nick names, which was Melchisedecians; for like Melchisedec, they were without father, without mother, without beginning of days or end of life. The church thought them enthusiasts and blasphemers; the truth is, they followed no one, but acted as their own understanding ordered them, as good men in all ages have always done. It is pleasant enough to hear the debates of monks and prelates in council, about what terms of communion ought to be offered to these people, to bring them into the establishment; whether in case they should offer to conform, they should allow their baptism to be valid, whether their ministers should be considered regularly ordained, whether they should be allured or compelled, and so on.

This large body of dissenters were resident in the empire from the first establishment of the church in the fourth century, to the destruction of it in the fifteenth. They were named Messalians and Euchites, the one a Hebrew, the other a Greek name, and both signifying a people that pray, for they placed religion not in speculation but

in devotion and piety. Euchite among the Greeks was a general name for a dissenter, as Waldensian was in the Latin church, and as Nonconformist is in England. Dr. Mosheim says truly, that “the accounts which have been given of them are not in all respects to be depended upon; and there are several circumstances which render it extremely probable, that many persons of eminent piety and zeal for genuine christianity, were confounded by the Greeks with these enthusiasts, and ranked in the list of heretics merely on account of their opposing the vicious practices and the insolent tyranny of the priesthood, and their treating with derision that motley spectacle of superstition that was supported by public authority.” “Under this name,” adds he “all were comprehended, who opposed the raging superstition of the times, or looked upon true and genuine piety as the essence of the Christian religion.” What a pity that such a fine pen as that of Mosheim should stain the character of such a people with the odious name of enthusiasm.

If any confidence could be placed in

Epiphanius, these people did not believe the Trinity. He says, they spoke of one Almighty and worshipped only him. They erected a sort of courts, probably baptisteries, like Bethesda; and they built oratories, and a kind of churches for public worship. There they assembled morning and evening, and sometimes the meeting held so long that they had candles. There they prayed, sung hymns, read the scriptures, and the wisest taught the rest. This was the whole of their public religion. It would be difficult to find either heresy or enthusiasm in all this.

This general parent stock, called Euchites, or dissenters, it should seem was divided and subdivided by the clergy into various classes of heretics. They misrepresented their doctrines, blackened their characters, and as often as they could, they excited princes to persecute them. This was the meaning of the artist who drew the Emperor Andronicus as a horse with a bridle in his mouth, and Arsenius the patriarch riding on him, with the reins in his hand. Some of these dissenters dogmatised as the

established clergy did, and they became manichean, arian and athanasian Euchites. Others were named after the countries where they most abounded, as Bulgarians, Macedonians, Armenians, Phrygians, Cataphrygians, Galatians, Philippopolitans, or as it was corruptly sounded in the west, Popolicans, Pobicans, Publicans. Others were named after some eminent teacher, as Paulicians and Paulianists from Paul of Samosata, or says the Princess Comnena, from Paul and John the sons of Callinices.—*R. E. R. p. 56, 57, 58.*

All the classes who did not hold the doctrine of a trinity of persons in God, whether called Artimonites, Paulianists, Arians, Monarchians, Patropassians, Sabellians, or by any other name, administered baptism in the name of Christ, and these were the people whom the Council of Nice required to be re-baptized, in case they came to join the popular party, who believed the trinity of persons, who called themselves the orthodox, and who had managed being the larger and more complying party of Chris-

tians to get themselves established by the secular power. *R. E. R. p. 65.*

The School of Alexandria had “introduced a double sense of scripture, the one plain, the other mysterious, and it was for the sake of initiating people into the mysterious part, that the intermediate state first of Pupils and afterward of Catechumens was invented. Pupillage supplied the church with ministers, and the Catechumen state was intended to furnish it with members.” *R. H. B. p. 236.*

It is allowed by all writers of every community, that the whole doctrine of Catechumenship proceeds on the ground of some hidden doctrine in Christianity. It seems as clear that there was no such doctrine till the third century, when the rudiments of it were invented at Alexandria; which grew by the fourth century into creeds for the clergy, and into the Catechumen state for the people, and so went on in following centuries, till it ripened into systematical divinity, of which the matter was furnished by Plato and the manner was taken from Aristotle. The school-men dilated the sub-

ject beyond all bounds, and the reformers reduced it to a compact size, but the whole in every form is antiscriptural, and the connection of it with church communion tends to defeat the great end for which Jesus came into the world. *R. H. B. 242.*

During the first Catechumen state it was not a few slight impressions, such as ceremonies make on the minds of children, but it was a rational knowledge and an inward love of virtue that intitled a Catechumen to become a competent or a candidate for baptism. The first Catechetical lecture of Cyril is wholly on this subject, and an excellent address it is. Thus he speaks—"Ye disciples of the New Testament partakers of the mysteries of Christ, if any of you affect disguise in the sight of God he deceives himself, and discovers his ignorance of the Almighty. Beware, O man, of hypocrisy, for fear of him who trieth the heart and reins. Observe how men are enlisted into the army, with what diligence their ages and their bodies are examined: so the Lord when he makes an election of souls, scrutinizes the wills, and if he discover any secret

hypocrisy, he rejects the man as unqualified for his spiritual army ; but if he finds him worthy he freely bestows grace. The Lord hath prepared you a spiritual table. Say to him with the Psalmist :—*Thou Lord art my Shepherd; I shall not want, The Lord maketh me to lie down in green pastures, He leadeth me by the side of still waters, He restoreth my soul.*—R. H. B: 251.

The two following extracts from the discourses of Basil, Archbishop of Casarea, may serve to shew both how and whom they baptized in the Greek Established church in the fourth century.

“ It is necessary to the perfection of a christian life, that we should imitate Christ; not only such holy actions and dispositions, as lenity, modesty, and patience, which he exemplified in his life ; but also his death, as Paul saith,—“ *I am a follower of Christ. I am conformable to his death. If by any means I might attain unto the resurrection of the dead. How can we be placed in a condition of likeness to his death. By being buried with him in baptism. What is the form of this burial, and what benefits flow*

from an imitation of it? First the course of former life is stopped. No man can do this unless he be *born again*, as the Lord hath said. Regeneration, as the word itself imports, is the beginning of a new life; therefore he that begins a new life must put an end to his former life. Such a person resembles a man got to the end of a race, who before he sets off again, turns about, pauses, and rests a little : so in a change of life it seems necessary that a sort of death should intervene, putting a period to the past, and giving a beginning to the future. How are we to go down with him into the grave? By imitating the *burial* of Christ in baptism; for the bodies of the baptized are in a sense buried in water. For this reason the apostle speaks figuratively of baptism as a *laying aside the works of the flesh*: *ye are circumcised with the circumcision made without hands, in putting off the body of the sins of the flesh by the circumcision of Christ, buried with him in baptism*, which in a manner cleanses the soul from the impurity of its natural carnal affections; agreeably to this saying,—*Wash me and I shall be whiter*

than snow. This is not like the Jewish purifications, washing after every defilement, but we have experienced it to be one cleansing baptism, one death to the world, and one resurrection from the dead, of both which baptism is a figure. For this purpose the Lord, the giver of life, hath instituted baptism a representation of both life and death; the water overflowing as an image of death, the spirit animating as an earnest of life. Thus we see how water and the spirit are united. Two things are proposed in baptism; to put an end to a life of sin, lest it should issue in eternal death; and to animate the soul to a life of future sanctification. The water exhibits an image of death, receiving the body as into a sepulchre: the spirit renews the soul, and we rise from a death of sin into a newness of life. This is to be *born from above of water and the spirit*: as if by the water we were put to death, and by the operation of the spirit brought to life.

“What time so proper for baptism as Easter.—Let us receive the benefit of the resurrection when we commemorate the re-

surrection of Christ. For this the church lifts up her voice, and calls from far her sons, that those whom she once brought forth she may now bring forth again; and feed with substantial food them, whom she had hitherto fed with the milk of the first elements of religion. John preached the baptism of repentance, and all Judea went out to him.—One John preached, and all the people repented: but you a prophet calls, saying, *wash and be clean*; you the Psalmist addresses, when he says,—*look to the Lord and be enlightened*; to you the Apostles say,—*repent and be baptised every one of you in the name of Jesus Christ, for the remission of sins and ye shall receive the Holy Ghost*;—the Lord himself invites you—*come unto me all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest*. All these passages have been read to you to day. Why do you delay? Why do you deliberate? What do you wait for? Instructed in the doctrine of Christ from your infancy, are you not yet acquainted with it? Having been *always learning* will you *never come to the knowledge of the truth*? Making

experiments all your life will you continue your trials to old age, when then will you be a christian? 'When shall we acknowledge you for our own? Last year you deferred it till this; do you intend now to put it off till the next?' It seems clear that the homilies of Archbishop Basil were addressed not to Pagans old or young, but to the children of Christians, whom he calls the church—that the Greek church of those times did not force a profession of Christianity upon their children, but conducted them to baptism by instruction and argument—that baptism was administered by trine immersion—and that as the sermons of their Bishops were intended to persuade, so the lessons for the day read openly in church were intended to explain and enforce the subject of baptism. Nothing like this is to be found in the Lent sermons of modern times, and a translation of the Lent homilies of the ancient Greek Bishops could not be read to any congregation of modern Christians without great absurdity except to baptist assemblies, and there they would be heard in raptures for

their singular propriety and beauty.—*R. H. B. p. 65, 66, 67.*

The baptism, then, of the Greek church, as well as of St. Sophia the metropolitan—was that of instructed adults, whether Pagans, or children of Christians, by trine immersion. It would be easy to make similar remarks on more eastern churches, as on that of Antioch, that at Alexandria, that at Jerusalem, and on many more, for all their baptisteries resembled that at St. Sophia, and their baptism was that of believers by trine immersion.—*R. H. B. p. 70, 71.*

But Anno 381, the year after Basil died, Gregory then Bishop of Constantinople delivered his fortieth oration, and having severely censured a delay of baptism on account of the danger of it, gave his opinion on the propriety of baptizing children, and the absolute necessity of baptizing even babes in case of danger of death. These are his words:—But say some what is your opinion of infants, who are not capable of judging either of the grace of baptism or of the damage sustained by the want of it; shall we baptize them too?—By all means,

if there be any apparent danger. For it were better they were sanctified without their knowing it, than that they should die without being sealed and initiated. As for *others*, I give my opinion, that when they are three years of age or thereabouts (for then they are able to hear and answer some of the mystical words, and although they do not fully understand they may receive impressions) they may be sanctified both soul and body by the great mystery of initiation. *R. H. B. p. 249, 250.*

Baptism in the New Testament is plain and hath in it no mystery to be believed and no difficulty to be practised, but alter the mode and change the subject and it becomes perplexed, the most difficult thing in the world to be understood, because incongruous with reason, and impossible to be practised, because it violates the irreversible laws of nature, and of course subverts morality to serve the interest of faith.—*R. H. B. p. 334.*

And therefore Gregory had reason to cloak his infant baptism under the name of the great mystery of initiation ; for how is

it possible to understand it either by reason or scripture. Thus under the name of mystery a "fatal error is taught that the children are christians made so by baptism, not that they ought to be so by convictions of their own, so that the mind is subverted and set a going wrong at the very beginning of life, and taught to be irrational by taking things for granted without examination, which is doing every thing that can be done to destroy reason and to reduce the noblest creature of God to the condition of an unintelligent animal.—*R. H. B. p. 336.*

Century the Fifth.

THOUGH all the fathers of the four first ages down to Jerom were of Greece, Syria, and Africa, and though they give great numbers of histories of the baptism of adults, yet there is not one record of the baptism of a child till the year three hundred and seventy, when Galates, the dying son of the Emperor Valens, was baptized by order of a monarch, who swore he would not be contradicted. The age of the prince is uncertain, and the assigning of his illness as the cause of his baptism indicates clearly enough that infant baptism was not in practice. When therefore in the fourth century government espoused one party of the christians, and established them by law to be forever distinguished from other citizens by subscribing a speculative test, neither did the establishment alter the ordinance of baptism, nor did all the non-conformists

refuse to comply with the terms of communion on account of this ordinance

But in this century things began to wear a different aspect, that African weed infant baptism had been transplanted into Europe the latter end of the last, and in the beginning of this century it began to flourish under the fostering influence of Austin and Pope Innocent.

Austin, or as the catholics call him St. Augustine, was born in Africa, and when he was about twenty years of age he became a teacher of rhetoric at Milan. Here he wrote books in defence of that religion he was about to embrace ; at length he became acquainted with Ambrose the bishop, set his heart on the ministry, renounced rhetoric for a better trade, turned off his mistress, vowed he would become a monk, and, in company with his bastard son, then fifteen years of age, and his friend Alypius, was baptized by immersion in the baptistery at Milan by Ambrose, in the year three hundred and eighty seven, and in the thirty-third year of his age. He named his son at his baptism Adeodatus, God's gift : *whose*

gifts the modest Ladies of Milan thought legitimate children were the history doth not say.

Soon after he became assistant to Valerius, bishop of Hippo, and lastly his successor; and all Africa, if the Emperor would help him, should believe what he ordered them.

While Austin was at Milan he covertly blowed up the coals of persecution in Spain, where Priscillian and many of his followers suffered for conscience sake.—*R. E. R. p. 55, 190 to 193.*

When he became bishop of Hippo, he says, his city of Hippo had been full of conventicles and schismatics, till he procured penal laws from the Emperor, and it was the terror of them which converted his flock.

Mr. Le Clerc, speaking of this pretended luminary of Africa, says, “Augustine was one of the very first who promoted two doctrines which take away all goodness and justice both from God and man. By the one, God is represented as creating the greatest part of mankind to damn them, and to sentence them to eternal torments, for

sins committed by another, and which they themselves could not avoid. By the other, he stirred up magistrates, and all who have the administration of public affairs, to persecute those who differ from them in religion."

It has been noticed before that he was baptized in the thirty-third year of his age. And in his book, *De Fide* and *Con. oper. cap. 6*, he says, that none without due examination, both as to doctrine and conversation, ought to be admitted to baptism. By which it appears that he was not at first an advocate for infant baptism.

But in his fourth book against the Donatists, *c. 23*, he says, infants are to be baptized, who can neither believe with their hearts to justification, nor confess with their mouths to salvation.

And in his sermon, *De Baptismo Parvulorum*, against the Pelagians, *c. 14*, he says, that children should be baptized, because of original sin, and that, without which they could never be regenerated or saved.

Dr. Barlow, speaking of infant baptism,

says, Austin was the first that ever said it was necessary.—*Danvers. p. 64.*

Dr. Taylor says, Austin was the first that ever preached it to be absolutely necessary. *Liberty of Prophecyng. p. 321.*

He also taught the necessity of giving them the Lord's supper as soon as they were baptized. And in his 107th epistle, from *John vi. 53.* he boldly says, *In vain do we promise infants salvation without it.*

And he appears to have used his utmost efforts to establish his doctrines of original sin, infant baptism, and infant communion.

Austin contended chiefly with four classes: Arians, Pelagians, Manicheans, and Donatists, not forgetting others of less note.

The Arians are so well known, that there needs no description of them. But it may be necessary to observe, that in these times, they baptized only believers. That the Actians, Unomians, Anomians, and many more, whom people named after their own ideas, but all heretics, are often confounded with the Arians. And that these also baptized only believers.

Pelagius was a native of Britain, who not daring to imagine that a just God would punish one being for the crime of another, denied the doctrine of original sin, and asserted, that it was in every man's power to sin, or not to sin. He reasoned thus,—“ If sin be inevitable, it can be no crime, or God must be unjust: but sin is a crime, and God is just; ergo, sin may be avoided. St. Austin, the Emperor, and the Pope, answered his arguments with anathematization. “ He had a great multitude of disciples, who in spite of Jerom and Austin and the Pope, thought and acted for themselves.”

Manes was a Persian physician, who embraced Christianity, and of whom an endless number of idle tales are told. What is certain is that he professed and taught the Christian religion, and had a great number of followers, in the third and succeeding centuries, called, after him, Manicheans. The catholics taxed them with such errors as they did some other classes of Christians, who would not receive the orthodox doctrines. The general charges were these, they are

said to deny baptism, but this is to be understood as the other charges of denying the Old Testament and the Godhead of Christ are. They denied these in the sense in which their oponents affirmed them. They thought the old Testament a true history, but not a rule of Christian action. Great numbers of them called Jesus God, though they supposed him so only by office; and the bulk seemed to have explained the matter as they do, who hold the indwelling scheme.

In regard to baptism they were so far from rejecting it in the East, that if they erred it was by baptizing too much, if the expression may be allowed. They re-baptize, said one of their opponents, but instead of being immersed in water, they ought to be plunged into hell! *R. H. B. p. 208.* They denied the validity of catholic baptism, and for that reason baptized those catholics who joined them. It was for this they were taxed with denying baptism. This was the sin never to be forgiven, and for this they ought to be plunged into hell in the opinion of their enemies.

The Manicheans “ accounted for the origin of evil as many ancient eastern sages had done, and as some modern philosophers do now, by supposing that moral evil rose out of physical or natural imperfection. It should seem by Serapion, Titus, and others who wrote first against them, that this was their meaning.

“ They held the unity of the first great cause, and explain the natures of the Son and the Spirit how they would, they disowned personality and trinity.

“ Their morals were rigid and severe, their worship simple and oriental, consisting in the adoration of one God by prayer and praise.—They refused oaths, remonstrated against penal sanctions, and denied the authority of magistrates over conscience. One of the most learned antiquaries hath produced ancient manuscripts, which prove they denied the baptism of infants, and others who had been intimate with them describe their manner of baptizing adults, as that of the Bogomilans and others is described in the Greek church. Manicheans in England would be called Unitarian Baptists. For

Dr. Mosheim hath proved that they did baptize adults, and that they did not baptize any but such as requested it."

Donatus was a man of great learning and virtue, and his followers were called Donatists. The Donatists thought the church ought to be kept separate from the world, a religious society voluntarily congregated together for pious purposes, and for no other. With this view they admitted none without a personal profession of faith and holiness, and then they baptized; or, if they had belonged to the great corrupt party, re-baptised... They used for all this the New Testament. The Catholics, of whom Austin was the head, taxed them with denying in effect, if not in express words, the Old Testament, and particularly such prophecies as spoke of the accession of kings, and gentiles, and nations to the church of Christ. "Is it not foretold, said Austin, that, *to me every knee shall bow?*" The Catholics then were for a national church for the sake of splendour: the Donatists, for a congregational church, for the

sake of purity of faith and manners.—*R. H. B. p. 215, 496.*

“ It is generally supposed the Donatists were Trinitarians, and held all the doctrines of Rome, for writers of the times expressly affirm this ; but other writers of equal authority affirm the contrary : probably both say the truth, and their clue is the bond of union. The Romans wrote after their own ideas, and as they had no notion of any tie except that uniform belief, each affirmed, that of all the Donatists, which was true only of that part, which fell under his notice. Variety of sentiment was the natural concomitant of their discipline, as immorality was that of the Romans. It is more natural to reconcile seeming contradictions in this manner, than to suppose historians guilty of writing known falsehoods.”—*R. E. R. p. 8.* And if the generality of them had not materially differed in sentiment from the church of Rome; why should Austin persecute them with such fury.

Twisk says, “ That the followers of Donatus, were all one with the Anabaptists, denying baptism to children; admitting the

believers only thereto, who desired the same."—*Cron.* l. 6, p. 201.

Osiander tells us, "That our modern Anabaptists were the same with the Donatists of old."—*Epit. cent.* xvi. p. 175.

Fuller says, "That the Anabaptists are the Donatists new dipped."—*Eccles. Hist.* l. 5, p. 229.

Bullinger tells us, "That the Donatists, and the then Anabaptists, held the same opinions."—*Lib. v. fol.* 216, 222, of *Baptism*.

"Austin's third and fourth books against the Donatists demonstrate, that they denied infant baptism; wherein he managetli the arguments for infant baptism against them with great zeal; enforcing it from several arguments, but especially from apostolical tradition; and cursing with great bitterness those that would not embrace it."—*Danvers Treat. on Bap.* p. 223.

The Donatists were very numerous, there were about four hundred congregations in Africa. Austin excited the Catholic bishops to exert themselves with the utmost vigor against them: "and deputies were sent in

the year four hundred and four, from the council of Carthage to the Emperor Honorius, to request that the laws enacted against heretics by the preceding Emperors, might have force against the Donatists: and the year following, new laws, much severer than the former, were enacted against them. And as the magistrates were remiss in the execution of these, the council of Carthage, in the year four hundred and seven, sent a second time deputies to the Emperor, to desire that certain persons might be appointed to execute these edicts with vigour, and their request was granted. But in four hundred and nine, the Emperor published a law in favour of liberty of conscience, prohibiting all compulsion in matters of religion. This law, however, was not of long duration; it was abrogated at the earnest and repeated solicitations of the council held at Carthage, in the year four hundred and twelve: and from the sequel of the account, it appears, that Austin and his ecclesiastical tyrants, never rested until the Donatists were reduced by fines and imprisonment, banishment and death. And it was not Austin's

fault, that there was one Donatist left to tell the barbarous tale.—See Mosheim's *Eccles. Hist.* vol. ii, p. 58, 59, 60.

When the Donatists reproached him with making martyrs of their bishops and elders, as Marculus, Maximian, Isaac, and others, and told him God would require an account of their blood at the day of judgment, he answered, “I, I know nothing about your martyrs—martyrs!—martyrs to the devil!—They were not martyrs—it is the cause, not the suffering that makes a martyr. There is no such thing as a martyr out of the church. Beside, it was owing to their obstinacy, they killed themselves; and now you blame the magistrate.”

Thus four hundred congregations of Christians were delivered over to banishment and death, to gratify the boundless ambition of Austin and the Pope, to rule over conscience.

“If the name of Augustine had not sunk below contempt in every free country, his conduct in procuring the first law to compel Christians to baptize their infants, in a council held at Mela, in Numidia, in the

year four hundred and sixteen, would deserve a treatise by itself." The canon runs thus : " Also it is the pleasure of the bishops to order, that whoever denieth that infants newly born of their mothers are to be baptized, or saith that baptism is to be administered for the remission of their own sins, but not on account of original sin derived from Adam; and to be expiated by the laver of regeneration—be ACCURSED."

An honest indignation rises at the sound of such tyranny. To curse Christians for not saying more of a subject than the scripture says, and for denying what there is neither precept, president, or example for in the word of God. Who can help being offended at the sight? who can be grieved to see the Vandals come forward and subvert all the labours of Austin's life?

" Austin and his company were the first who ventured to attack at law believer's baptism: they went therefore on the forlorn hope, and a plain tale puts them down. They did not pretend to ground infant baptism on scripture, but tradition; and as they could not possibly cite a law human

or divine, they ventured to place it on universal custom. Had custom been for it, and reason against it, reason should have taken place of custom; but with what possible decency could Austin dare to affirm this? Some, who have no very favourable opinion of either the sincerity or modesty of the man, are so shocked at this affirmation, that they suspect his works have been interpolated, and think he could not say so. Yes, he is allowed by those, who have most studied his works, to have constantly affirmed this. Was he himself then baptized in his infancy?—was Ambrose, who baptized him, baptized in his infancy?—was his own natural son baptized when he was an infant?—was his father Patricius baptized when an infant?—had he, who pretended he had been a Manichean, never heard that they did not baptize infants?—had all other heretics escaped his notice?—had he forgot himself when he taxed the Pelagians with denying infant baptism? and when he complained in another book of people who opposed it?—if it were an established universal custom, for whose use was the law made to

compel it? A thousand more such questions might be put, all serving to contradict this falsehood."

Some Christians said to Austin, "the ground on which you place baptism, is not able to bear the baptism of babes; it sets aside the necessity of baptism itself to the children of all Christians. You say, infants must be baptized because they are sinners. We ask, when they sinned? you say, never in their own persons, but they were in the loins of Adam when he sinned. And pray were they not in the loins of their immediate parents, when they were baptized? how came they to derive guilt from a remote ancestor, and not grace from an immediate parent, whose sins both original and actual, you say were all washed away in his baptism? Austin knew all this; but as Adam was the very foundation of his system, and he could not possibly preach once without him, he was forced to write a book to answer these objections, against both the practice of baptizing infants, and the reason on which his canon was founded. How was it possible this man could call

infant baptism an apostolical custom?"—
R. H. B. p. 21.

It appears this council was held first at Carthage, and then adjourned to Mela or Melevitan in Numidia. "Augustine was present, and he with four other bishops, sent a long letter to their *most honoured and blessed Lord Pope Innocent I.* In which they inform him, that though they hoped Pelagius was silenced, yet his adherents were very numerous; and they said infants were not born in sin, and therefore had no need of baptism to wash it away. This order to baptize infants, therefore, was intended to involve the people in the profession of a doctrine taught by Augustine, by entangling them in a practice from which the bishops intended to argue for the doctrine; this was artful enough—most of the disciples of Augustine entered thoroughly into his views, and at the reformation, when Herman, archbishop and elector of Cologne, attempted to reform his church, and published a directory for the purpose, he ordered the officiating priest, when he administered baptism, to pray to Almighty God, by

naptismal water, to drown the filth which the infant had taken of Adam, as he had drowned Pharaoh in the red sea.

“ In the spring of the next year, Innocent wrote a letter to Augustine, to signify his approbation of what was done. The same Innocent very consistently introduced infant communion : this grew out of infant baptism, as that did out of original sin. And if there be such a thing as original sin in the sense of these innovators, and if water can wash it away, it is certainly a great amendment, and one that Jesus with all his wisdom and compassion did not think fit to appoint.

The Magdeburginsians say, the proceedings of this council were transmitted to Pope Innocent I. “ for his further ratification ; and accordingly received the same in his decretal epistle at large, inscribing their letters thus :—The fathers of the council, to Innocent, the pope and high priest ; styling him most holy father.”—*Cent. v, p. 822, 825.*

As the baptism of infants was first decreed:

by this pope, it may not be amiss to describe his character.

The authors just mentioned tell us, "That he most strenuously laboured for the universal bishopric, and supremacy over all churches, as appears (say they) in all his epistles, designing to bring the determination of all the principal ecclesiastical causes into that see ; especially in his epistle to Victricius and Decentius ; and he blasphemously attributed divine honor to the popedom, as appears in that epistle to Victricius?"

He was a great establisher of human tradition—he made confirmation a sacrament, and confined it to the bishops to lay hands on baptized infants ; and appointed that the eucharist should be given to young children as soon as they were baptized.

" He instituted many of the Jewish and Pagan laws, as appears, they say, in his book *De Pontiff.*—*Hen.* v. Also forbade the marriage of priests, and damned the nuns if they married."—*Cent.* v. p. 1223 to 1231.

And to witness his supremacy he excom-

municated the Emperor Arcadius and all his ecclesiastics, that had any hand in the banishment of John Chrysostom."—*p.* 662, 663. He was also a great persecutor and expelled the novations from Rome.--*Socrates l. 7. p.* 19

This decree of Pope Innocent was afterwards confirmed by the Popes Fosimus and Boniface his successors, as appears in *Cod. Can. cap.* 110, *Aff. cap.* 77, and *De Consecrat. Distinct.*

The Magdeburginsians say in their epistle to this fifth century, "That it might then be understood that Rome, that had hitherto governed the world, was now made the very seat of Antichrist."---by the bishop of Rome's lifting up himself in supremacy above all other bishops and churches."

When we reflect on the character and conduct of this Pope, his readiness to innovate, and his endeavours to exalt himself and the Popedom;—when we consider the conduct of Augustine, and the African bishops, the spirit they manifested in their councils, and compare their canons with the scriptures; it is evident, that both the

pope and the bishops were sadly degenerated from the apostolic character. It appears that they had lost sight of the beautiful simplicity of the gospel, the spirituality of its ordinances, and of the excellency and effects of genuine faith and love; and were actuated by a fiery zeal for some doctrinal points devised by men, and a stupid zeal for a senseless round of rites and ceremonies. And therefore we need not be surprised at the measures taken by them to impose on mankind the baptism and communion of infants, perverting those ordinances of their Lord, and their spiritual intent, by applying or forcing them on those who had little, if any more capacity to receive them, than the offspring of the brute creation.

Faustus the Manichean said to Augustine, "How dare you call me a Pagan schismatic. The Pagans honor God, they think by building temples, erecting altars and images, and by offering sacrifices and incense. I have quite other notions, I consider myself if I be worthy a rational temple of God, I honour Jesus Christ his son as his express

image. A well instructed mind is his altar, and pure and simple adoration the only acceptable sacrifice to God. For your parts you have substituted the ceremonies of your love feasts in the place of sacrifices, martyrs instead of idols, and you honour them as the Pagans do their deities by votive offerings. You appease the manes of the dead by wine and festivals. You celebrate the feasts of Paganism by observing days; and in regard to their morals you preserve them entire, and have altered nothing. It is you then, not we, who are Pagan schismatics, and nothing distinguishes you from the rest of the heathens but your holding separate assemblies. You ask me whether I believe the gospel? Is that a question to put to a man who observes all the precepts of it? I might with propriety put the question to you, because your life gives no proof of it. As for me, I have quitted father, mother, and children. I have renounced all that the gospel commands me to renounce: and you ask whether I believe the gospel? I perceive you do not understand the gospel, which is nothing but

the doctrine and the precepts of Jesus Christ. I have renounced silver and gold; I carry none in my purse; I am content with daily bread; I am free from anxiety about the morrow, what I shall eat and where-withal I shall be clothed: and yet you keep asking me whether I believe the gospel.

You say the son of God was born of a virgin. Now, let us suppose that the history of the birth of Christ is one part of the gospel, you will not pretend to affirm it is the whole gospel. The commandments of Jesus are another part. If you accuse me of not believing the gospel because I do not admit the history of the birth of Christ, I accuse you in my turn of not believing the gospel, and with much more reason, because you do not practise the precepts of it. We are both alike then. I do not admit the genealogy of Christ, and you do admit it: you do not practise the precepts of Christ, and I do practise them. Thus neither of us admits the whole gospel: but it must be allowed, you have chosen the easy, and I the difficult part, and that Jesus hath not annexed the promise of salvation to your

part, but he hath to mine. He hath said ye are my friends, if ye do whatsoever I command you : but he hath not said ye are my friends, if ye believe I was born of a virgin. *R. E. R.* 151, 194.

Thus from the historical accounts of those times, it evidently appears, that Pope Innocent and Augustine were the men who imposed, established and enforced the baptism of babes in the catholic church. And the Emperor Honorius who acted in concert with these innovating persecuting despots, published the following edict.

That the person re-baptized, as well as the administrator, should be punished with death.—*Baronius Annals* p. 413, numb. 6. *Sebastian Frank, fol.* 136, *col.* 3.

And from henceforth if any of those who were baptized by the catholics in their infancy, should afterwards be convinced that the Lord Jesus required faith as a pre-requisite to his baptism, and that nothing short of their own personal profession of faith in him, could entitle them to baptism, and the gracious promise annexed to it, they must not comply with the command of

their Lord, on pain of death. And if any baptist minister dared to baptize such, death was his doom. And Albanus, with several others were put to death on the said edict, in the year four hundred and twenty-four.—
Twisk Cron. l. 5, p. 149.

The African councils are the contempt of every liberal mind, both for the doctrines which they deliver, as articles of faith and for the presumption of pretending they were the oracles of God. The orthodox church practiced this very ancient mode of governing by councils, and pretended that Almighty God by the lips of his trusty and well-beloved Carthaginian bishops in council, issued an order to persecute all who denied original sin and infant baptism, a Trinity of persons in the Deity of heaven and the divine right of bishops. Every weakling who sat there is called a father, the bench is denominated a most holy council, the canons are set in a light of importance, and take place of the genuine oracles of God, and the Holy Infallible Spirit is always supposed to preside there.

In a council at Alexandria held in the year four hundred and thirty, no-less than twelve Anathemas were hurled at the head of Nestorius, who, instead of calling the Virgin Mary *the mother of God*, (a title with which the catholics had long honoured her) choose to call her only *the mother of Christ*: and the year after, another council was called by the Emperor Theodosius the younger, to settle this doctrine so important to them, when Nestorius was charged with blasphemy, condemned without being heard, and sent into banishment.—*Mosheim's Eccles. Hist. vol. ii. p. 65, to 69.*

While the Pope Augustine and the Emperor were carrying on their persecutions, and enforcing the baptism of babes. The Goths were wasting the Roman empire. The famous Alaric began his incursions about the year 395. He first ravaged Greece, then wasted Italy, besieged Rome, and was bought off at an exorbitant price. Besieged it again in the year 410, took and plundered the city, then set it on fire in several places.

Genseric, king of the Vandals, over-ran Spain, then embarked for Africa, attacked and conquered the Roman provinces there. Augustine was turned of seventy-five years of age, when his city of Hippo was besieged, having lived long enough to see that wicked doctrine of persecution which he had taught the orthodox to practice on such as he called schismatics and heretics, returned with a vengeance on him and his devoted party. During the siege he sunk into the grave; this appears to have taken place in 429, after having spent a great part of his life in banishing and butchering the dissenters. His friend, the Emperor Honorius, died before him, in the year 423.

The catholic historians say, that in less than one year after the conquest of Africa by the Vandals, that "of all the innumerable churches of the orthodox, only three remained in all Africa." Salvian truly says, "they had only the appearance of Christians, and hardly that. Other nations, says he, have some good qualities to abate the horror of their crimes, but Africans are nothing but vice." When the bishops and

saints decamped, it is said, the people set a wailing ; some cried—" Who will baptize these infants at Easter when you are gone ? Who will hear confessions ? Who will appoint penance ? O ! miserable people ! that we are, who but you can give us absolution ? You have power to bind and loose--and whatsoever you bind or loose on earth, is loosed or bound in heaven."

The account Salvian gives of these African Christians, shews the propriety of an observation by Mr. Robinson.—“ The worst consequences that followed the baptism of babes were, the loss of principle in the baptised, and the loss of evidence to the truth of christianity itself. A virtuous profession of the Christian religion, is founded on faith in Christ, and from this first element, all after actions naturally flow ; but where, as in professing infants, the primordial element is not, and cannot be, religion rises on a postulatum or assumed proof, and can be no more than a prejudice. The lives of such nominal Christians give too much evidence that they are Christians only by prepossession, and hence comes their

innumerable errors, passions and vices. Having no reasons of their own for either faith or virtue, they know nothing of the religion which they profess, and avoid none of the crimes, which it was intended to destroy. Hence blaspheming Christians, debauched Christians, and so on.

It may be asked, how a church so grossly wicked obtained the character of purity?—and on what account some of the clergy were canonized as saints, and the principal of them considered as pillars of the catholic church unto this day? The true answer is, they placed all religion in faith, not in virtue, and their bishops were the most zealous contenders for hierarchial power of any that ever appeared under the Christian name, and nothing serves the purpose of absolute dominion more directly than the baptism of babes.

About the year four hundred and seventy-six, Odoacer, King of the Heruli, took the imperial city of Rome, put an end to the western empire, and caused himself to be proclaimed King of Italy. But about the year four hundred and ninety-three, he was

defeated, and slain by Theodorick, who founded the kingdom of the Ostrogoths, in Italy, where he reigned thirty-three years, with great moderation and glory, granting liberty of conscience to all.—*R. H. B.* 183, 207, 335.

Century the Sixth.

ABOUT the beginning of this century, Lorenzo, bishop of *Novara*, in his homily on repentance, which seems to have been a preparation sermon for baptism, or a directory discourse immediately after it, proceeds to shew how Jesus took away the sin of the *world* by being baptised in the river Jordan; which sin of the world he supposes to be original sin: and then he says, “Christ by being dipped in Jordan, sanctified the waters. Baptismal water is water of remission—at the font you receive not a jewish but an evangelical sign. That day, that hour, when you come out of the laver, you have within yourself a perpetually running water, a daily remission: you have no need of a teacher.” and so on. “Be the baptist to thyself—art thou defiled after baptism? Is thy heart vi-

trated, thy mind contaminated? Dip thyself in the waters of repentance, wash thyself in abundance of tears: let the fountain of compunction diffuse itself through every pore, let it be a living water overflowing every fibre." All this is very spiritual, however, the meaning is clear: repentance and a teacher are necessary before baptism, and baptism is not to be repeated; because, though a Christian may sin after baptism, yet as he continues to repent, it is not necessary that he should be baptized again. Moreover, the homily shews a principle received by many Christians, which accounts for the conduct of such as do not baptize infants, although they do believe original sin. They think Adam's sin charged on all his posterity, was that which John the Baptist called *the sin of the world*; and which he said Jesus took away: so that neither infants nor adults are accountable for Adam's transgression, of course baptism is unnecessary before the commission of actual sin."—*R. H. B. p. 93, 94, 95.*

Theodorick departed this life on the thirteenth of August, in the year five hundred

and twenty six. He was free from the vices of the princes of his age, and in all cases he discovered a sound understanding, and a love of virtue. He was a sincere lover of liberty : he preserved it among all his own subjects by an administration of equal justice—he obtained it for foreigners in their states by negociation—he acquired it for slaves, by methods just and generous—and at one time he redeemed six thousand captives from the Burgundians. He wanted nothing of an emperor but the title, and that was in his power had he chosen to adopt it.

It was nobly said by him, by way of persuading some in Pannonia to lay aside the practice of deciding disputes by combat, and to content themselves with decisions in a regular course of justice by law,—“ Of what use to man is his tongue, if all his affairs are to be determined sword in hand ? Where is peace to be sought, if not in civilized states ? Imitate our Goths, who are brave in arms in the field of battle, but live at home in habits of modesty with their fellow citizens. We wish to see you live like children of one family, flourishing under

“the blessing of God.” It was a day much to be lamented, when these nations were converted from all this barbarism and heresy to the holy catholic and apostolic faith.

This is the man whom providence sent to bless the western world, as prophets had been anciently sent to the Jews to guide them into the paths of peace. The Catholics like the Jews, never knew the worth of such a messenger of good. Orthodoxy not liberty, hierarchy not social happiness, ritual worship, and not virtue were their objects; to obtain these they conspired against him during his life, and since his departure, they hand his name down to posterity, from book to book, under the odious appellation of Arian, Anabaptist, heretic, and so on.

The successors of Theodorick were Arian Baptists, and followed his example in maintaining religious liberty. Totilas the Fifth in succession, was a second Theodorick. It was an axiom with him, and it seems to have been an opinion universally received among the Goths, that God was neither a general approver of all mankind, nor of any particular party; but that he was the friend and

patron of every good and upright man. The boasted founder of the Roman church was of the same sentiment. "*I perceive,*" said he, *God is no respecter of persons ; but in every nation, he that feareth God, and worketh righteousness, is accepted with him.*"

Battenburg informs us, that in the beginning of this century, many opposed infant baptism.

Anticatholics were of two classes; the first were such as the Catholics called heretics, and who lived among them. These were very numerous, and the penal statutes say, the Donatists and the Manicheans were the worst. This is a great presumption in favour of these two classes. The civil and the canon-laws of those times mention seventy or eighty sorts of heretics : considering the whole as one large body of free-thinkers unsubdued by authority, there are two remarks worth making : first, it is impossible to prove, that these non-conformists did baptize their children ; on the contrary, it is absolutely certain that some of them did not. For example, the singular case of

that spark, who was baptized at the sailing of the fleet of Belisarius proves, that the Eunomians did not. Secondly, it is undeniable, that many, and it is probable that all disapproved of Catholic baptism, and always re-baptized. The laws against re-baptizing, and the histories of the Donatists and the Puritans, are decisive on this article.

The other class of Anticatholics were such as resided in all other kingdoms, and were not in communion with the Catholic church. These were infinitely more numerous than the first class; for at the beginning of the sixth century, there was only one Catholic King in the world, this was Clovis, King of the Franks, all the rest were Anticatholics, and most of them Arians. Accuracy, however, requires a division of the Arians into two classes. Such as resided in the empire make one class; and these again are to be subdivided, for a part was a faction for power in the church: and another part desiring nothing but liberty of conscience dissented. It should seem these latter, when the former got into power,

united with them for mutual safety against their common enemy, the Catholics ; but foreign Arians abounded in their own sense of scripture, and not only tolerated one another, but persecuted nobody. When Catholic historians represent the Goths, and the Suevi, the Lombards, the Burgundians, and the Franks, the Saxons, and all the other German nations, as barbarians and persecutors, they not only offer a cruel insult to the memory of a brave and generous people, but they contradict all, even Catholic historians who lived among them at the time ; and who, while they execrate their faith as heartily as the most bitter persecutor can wish, speak in the highest terms of their justice and clemency. It is very probable from their principles, their laws, and their history, that they practised the baptism of minors ; but that they knew nothing of the baptism of infants till the Catholics taught them that, and the trinity, and intolerance, three congenial friends, which seldom part company.

Some of these Unitarians administered baptism in the name of Christ ; others in the

name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, which they understood as the Jews did, when they named Jehovah the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob ; not as descriptive of the nature of God, but of three different characters or modes of manifestation. In one point they all agreed, they re-baptized all who had been baptized among the Catholics, and for this reason the Catholics called them Anabaptists. The Catholics were Trinitarians, and they held Unitarian baptism valid, where it was performed in three names, which they explained their own way ; but they re-baptized such as had been baptized only in the name of Christ. The Catholics baptized their own children in childhood after instruction, except the sickly, and them they baptized at any time. Thus stood baptism in the West, in the middle of the sixth century.

Justinian succeeded Justin in the empire of the East, in the year five hundred and twenty seven. In five hundred and twenty nine, his code of law, called the " Justinian Code " was first published, by which

those powers, privileges and immunities were secured to the clergy, that union perfected between things civil and ecclesiastical, and those laws imposed on the church, which have proved so injurious to christianity, and so calamitous to mankind. And which code through the zeal of the clergy, has been received more or less, as the foundation of the jurisprudence of almost every state in Christendom, and that not only in things *civil*, but *ecclesiastical*.—*Bicheno's Signs of the Times*, p. 59.

Justinian was a Trinitarian, as his uncle Justin had been; “but being safer on the throne than he, all heretics were punished with a barbarity which Justin had not dared to exercise. With the spoils of these unfortunate sufferers, with taxes unjustly laid, and infamously collected, and with literary stipends formerly granted, the pious Justinian built churches and monasteries to the honor of Michael the Archangel, and the mother of God, and enriched the orthodox. —*R. E. R.* p. 157, 166, 370, 394.

Rulicius p. 249, and Glanaus, p. 627, speaking of the Baptists in Justinian's time,

say, "They were honest and godly teachers, and Christians, that from the example of Christ's baptism, did reprove the evil custom of children's baptism, that like an inundation was then broken in."—*Merning* p. 487, *out of Rulicius*, p. 249.

About the year five hundred and thirty-four, Justinian declared the Pope the head of all churches; all were to be subject to his judgment, but himself was to be judged by none. And the Pope in return, promoted his design of recovering the western empire, out of the hands of the Vandals and Goths, and annexing it to the eastern.

Belisarius was appointed commander in chief. The Emperor ordered the Admiral's ship to be towed up to the front of the palace, to receive benediction in the name of the whole fleet, before it sailed. Epiphanius, patriarch of Constantinople, performed the ceremony, one principal part of which was putting on board a soldier immediately after he had been baptised in the Christian faith. A Christian, in the Greek church, was supposed to bury all his sins in

the act of immersion in water, and for this reason as the learned father Montfaucon hath observed in his notes in his elegant edition of Chrysostom, the Greeks called baptism burial: and burial and baptism were synonymous. Theophylact speaks accurately, when he says, Jesus and his followers were buried; he in earth, they in water: he three days, they three times, by being three times immersed at baptism. When a newly baptised man came up out of the water, he was supposed to rise as it were from the dead, to enter on a life like that of the blessed in Heaven, all composed of righteousness and true holiness. What a sight at Constantinople! How full of conviction to the gazing multitude! A soldier at full age in the prime of life, having well considered the matter, comes to the baptistery, pauses before he enters, coolly confesses that he had formerly lived in error and vice, but that having weighed the matter, he had come to the resolution to renounce all sin, and to embrace that religion, which the just and holy Jesus had exemplified: that to express his renunciation of sin, he would

renounce his former life in a figure, by being buried in water, and prove his sincerity by rising out of it and practising in future piety and justice. Down he goes with an holy man into the water, and, in the sight of all comes up a new creature; a few moments he disappears to put off his wet habits, and put on his regimentals. Then following the patriarch he goes on board, and the first act of the holy man's life is the unfurling of a flag, or the pulling of a rope, to express that the war is undertaken on principles of the purest justice. The admiral, and his lady, his family, and his train follow: the fleet sails, and if the expedition succeeds, Te Deum brings up the rear, and the empire bless God for prospering such an upright undertaking. *R. H. B. p. 410.*

This account shews us that the heads of the Greek church still entertained right notions of baptism, although they were so abominably corrupt and so wicked as to abuse it, by applying the institution of the prince of peace to promote and encourage war and bloodshedding. And it also proves that the orthodox were fully capable of ap-

plying it to fleets, children, bells, or any thing else that suited their caprice and whims.

Belisarius succeeded in subduing the vandals in Africa; after which he landed his army in Italy, and took Rome. And in five hundred and fifty-tree, Narses put a period to the gothic kingdom in Italy.

The Catholics gave out that the revolution was in answer to their prayers; and that the Virgin Mary honored the general with signals for battle, at the express command of God. The Emperor's edicts were enforced, and the heretics persecuted of course.

But fifteen years afterwards, Albion, king of the Lombards, conquered great part of Italy. Who gave him the signals for battle? or why the Virgin Mary did not give the Emperor's generals signals as before, the Catholics do not tell us. But this we know, that under the Lombard government the power of the Catholics to persecute ceased, and the Unitarian baptists enjoyed full liberty of conscience.

But reign who would, the Popes contended for exemption from the civil power,

under pretence of religion, meaning by that to ascend to dominion over it.

Justinian committed crimes and murders innumerable, to suppress heresy; and yet in his old age became an heretic himself. The church holds him in the highest estimation, and makes this apology, by affirming, he was superannuated when he believed heresy.

In Spain, the Priscillianists, Arians, Bonosians, and others, who maintained the baptism of believers, were very numerous. In the acts of the catholic council of Toledo, the Priscillianists are charged with holding eighteen errors, which are evidently the same in substance, as those which the Manicheans, and Hierachites held. They are not taxed with any one immorality, for they were Unitarians, who placed religion in virtue. Their enemies never taxed them with omitting baptism, and the above-mentioned council expressly affirms that they did administer it. They did not baptise infants, but they baptised adults, by dipping once in the name of Christ.

Leovigild, was king of the Wisigoths, in

Spain, and he was an Arian. "When the two sons of Leovigild acceded to the Catholic faith, they were both baptised by the Catholic Priests; consequently, they had not been baptised in their infancy. Hence it follows, that the Unitarians did not baptise infants, for the Catholics did not rebaptise these princes, because they had partaken of an invalid baptism. But they baptised them because they had not been baptised at all."—*R. E. R. p.* 162, 197, 207, 394.

The Catholics stirred up his son Hermenegild to rebel, and he "put himself at the head of an army, and distributed a medal with a motto importing, that an heretic, though a King was to be destroyed. Heresy is a glorious reason for a son to imbrue his hands in the blood of his father."

Leovigild conducted his affairs in this critical conjuncture, with the tenderness of a parent, and the prudence of an experienced governor. He convened an assembly at Toledo, to try, if possible, to abate the zeal of the enthusiastical Catholics, and

to form an union between them and the Arians. The chief article of discussion was baptism, for all the Arian Goths, the Priscillianists, the followers of Bonosius and others, deemed heretics by the Catholics, were literally Anabaptists in regard to the Catholics. Themselves were baptized once only, by dipping in the name of Christ; but when Catholics who had been dipped in the name of the Trinity, joined their churches, they re-baptized them. The Catholics resented this, and considered it, as it really was, a tacit denial of the whole of their religion. Against this they published books, and filled Spain with lamentable declamations and outcries against heresy and the sacrilege of re-baptizing. Yet the Goths tolerated Pagans, Jews, Catholics, and all others, and did not compel any to join their churches. In this assembly the mode of administering baptism was qualified, and it was agreed that Catholics should be baptized in the name of the Father, through the Son, by the Holy Ghost; many acceded to this, and Vincent, bishop of Saragossa, among the rest; and were re-

baptized, joined the Arian church, and a declaration of their conversion was published. This manœuvre drew off many from the party of Hermenigild.

By a second stratagem, Leovigild divided and dissipated the army under the command of his son. A part he bought off by presenting the general with thirty thousand pieces of gold, and another part he subdued by force of arms. To his son he sent a most affectionate letter, in which he contrasts his own generous conduct to the undutiful prince, with that of the prince to him. Toward the close he informs him, that religion in the present case was nothing but a pretence, a name to conceal ambition and love of dominion !—that his pretended piety went to subvert all laws human and divine, and to provoke the displeasure of God ;—that Providence had always prospered the kingdoms of the Goths in their profession of religion, and that he might easily perceive the vanity of the new religion which he had embraced, by observing that it taught a son to hate, resist, and destroy his own father. He closes by offering

to forgive all his offences on condition he gave up his enterprise, and by observing what dreadful consequences must follow if he persisted. Mariana hath preserved the whole letter, and it will always do honour to the writer.

Hermenigild persisted, but was subdued and imprisoned by his father, where he ended his days.

Leovigild died in the year five hundred and eighty-six, and was succeeded by Reccarid, who had embraced the catholic faith; under him the Catholics strongly shewed their disposition, but his majesty was not much disposed to persecute his Christian subjects ; and their fiery zeal was in a great measure restrained to their councils and canons, in one of which a curse was denounced against anabaptism. But the Jews more severely felt the effect of their malice.

Century the Seventh.

RECCARID after a reign of fifteen years, departed this life in the first year of this century. He was the first Catholic king of Spain, and with him orthodoxy died, and his successors were either Arians, or Demi-catholics, or profligates, for one hundred-and thirty-eight years, when Alfonso I. surnamed for persecuting the Arians, the Catholic, became King of the petty kingdoms of Leon and Asturias. The saints and their books fell into oblivion, and about forty years after the death of Reccarid, there could not be found in all Spain, one copy of Gregory's Exposition of Job. And of course the Arians, Priscillianists, Bonosians, and other classes, who would now be called Unitarian Baptists, enjoyed religious liberty.

All parties baptized by immersion single or trine, and all re-baptized, the catholics made a distinction between some who ad-

ministered baptism in vague terms, capable of a trinitarian meaning, and others who did not. The first they admitted to their communion by the ceremony of unction, the latter they re-baptized ; as their decrees in council concerning the Bonosians and others, abundantly prove. Bonosius was a bishop of a church in Macedonia ; he taught as Photinus, a bishop of Sirmium did, that God was one undivided essence ; that there was no plurality of persons in the Deity ; that Jesus was an extraordinary man, born of a virgin by the POWER of God ; for so they understood the scriptural phraseology, Holy Ghost, Spirit of God, and so on.

Isidore of Seville, about the year six hundred and ten, published a treatise on the offices of the church, in which he says, “ Baptism consists of immersion in representation of the burial of Christ, and emersion in a representation of his resurrection.”

In a council held at Toledo in the year six hundred and thirty-three, it was determined that baptism should be administered by single immersion. Reeves, in a note on Justin Martyr’s Apology, p. 97, says,

“Trine immersion, not being of absolute necessity, was laid aside in Spain by the church, that they might not seem to gratify the Arians, who made use of it to denote the persons in the trinity to be three distinct substances, and gloried that the Catholics used it to denote the same.”

In the beginning of this century, Adrianus, bishop of Corinth, did publicly oppose the baptism of infants, insomuch as he would neither baptize them himself, nor suffer them to be baptized by others, but wholly denied baptism to them, wherefore he was accused by Gregory the Great, bishop of Rome, to John, bishop of Larissa ; as appears by Gregory’s epistle to the said John, in which among other things, he complains against the said Adrian, that he turned away young children from baptism, and let them die without it, for which they proceeded against him, as a great transgressor and blasphemmer.—*Magd. Cent. p. 653.*—*Montanus, p. 80.*—*Dutch Martrol, p. 234.*

Since the conquest of Africa by Justinian, the Donatists had struggled against unrighteous laws ; and under all their hard-

ships, they flourished so much, that Pope Gregory wrote to two African bishops to suppress them.—*R. E. R. p. 112.*

Gregory sent Austin the monk into Britain, who in the beginning of this century, caused the murder of twelve hundred British Christians, and forced Monachism on the Saxons; and as a part of it infant baptism.—*R. H. B. p. 123.*

Antharis the Arian king of the Lombards, published an edict, to forbid the Catholics baptizing the children of the Lombards the Easter following. This was just, for it supposed a right in the Romans to dispose of their children, and it only prohibited their practising on the weak minds of the orphans or minors of Arian families. It did not forbid them to baptize Lombards at age, who had a right to dispose of themselves, but it restrained minors from disposing of themselves before they were competent to judge of what they were about. So it happened, Antharis died before the Easter of the next year, and pope Gregory wrote to all the Roman bishops in Italy, to congratulate them on the event. He calls this most just

and excellent King the most execrable of men, and says, his death was a judgment inflicted on him by God, for the late edict, and he advised them by all means to inculcate among the Lombards, that the wrath of Almighty God was then inflicting on them a general mortality, and that the only way to appease the anger of the Deity was, to give their children catholic baptism. He advised them to be incessantly lavish of their promises of heaven in case of compliance—a fine story for children! The wisdom of the latter edict, however, soon appeared; for Theodelinda, the widow of Antharis, married Agiluf, duke of Turin, and the Lombards made him king. Gregory corrupted this lady, practised his arts on her children, by sending them books, toys, trinkets, and tales, and procured the baptism of her eldest son Adelwald, into the catholic faith, at which he felt raptures neither few nor small. It should seem Adelwald was about seven years of age at his baptism. The baptism of Adelwald is another proof that the Lombard Arians did not practice infant baptism.”—*R. E. R.* p. 395, 396.

“ Gregory affirmed every individual had in him, Adam and Eve, and Satan ; baptism washes away all the three, and superinduces the Holy Spirit of God and saving grace, therefore nothing can be more natural than to baptize infants as soon as possible.” He says, “ We baptize by dipping three times.”—*R. E. R. p. 392, 385.* And as he had got three persons to expel from the infant, it is not to be wondered at that he dipped it three times to drive them out. “ But the fathers speak most emphatically, when they declare in express words, that water in baptism suffocates and drowns the devil.”—*R. H. B. p, 440.*

By the exertions of pope Gregory and others, “ baptism in this period underwent a considerable change among the Catholics ; it is said among the Catholics, because it doth not appear that any other party baptized natural infants, and this is the change. The state Arians did not believe original sin, and therefore they did not baptize on that account: They never encouraged monachism, therefore they did not baptize infants by way of dedicating them to God. (Dissi-

dents or) Dissenters of all sorts acted on the one great principle, the ground of their whole practice, which was that a Christian church was a society of virtuous believers in Christ, and they dissented from all establishments lest their churches should degenerate into worldly corporations. No alteration was made in the mode of administering baptism, it was dipping every where and nothing else.

“ During these times there were, in most cities, both a Catholic and an Arian bishop, and that there were many dissidents beside, who did not unite with either, is clear, by the writings of those times against them. Heretics thought man a rational creature, and supposed as God had made men reasonable beings, they ought to be dealt with rationally. On this ground they allowed the Catholics places of worship to reason in, or to work miracles as they thought proper, but they did not gratify them with civil power to punish such as did not believe them.

In the reign of the first Lombards in Italy, Monachism was checked, and many houses

taken from their sacred inhabitants : but the latter Lombard kings revived the frenzy. Basil reduced the confused ideas of his contemporaries to a rule, and had made one for receiving children ; the babe was carried into the chapel, his hand was wrapped in the altar-cloth, a few ceremonies were performed, and an offering of property for his support, and for a reward to the monks, was made. Basil laid it down as an axiom, that instruction was to precede baptism : his words are express ; and he not only urges the command of Christ as an authority to baptize, but he strenuously pleads for an observation of the order of *words* as a rule for the order of *things*. Thus he begins :—“ Our Lord Jesus Christ, the only begotten son of the living God, having received after his resurrection the promise which God his Father made by the prophet David, saying, *Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee : ask of me, and I will give thee the heathen for thine inheritance, and the utmost parts of the earth for thy possession*,—assembled his disciples, and first made known to them the power which he

had received from God his Father :—saying, *Go and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you.* The Lord first commanded them to teach all nations, and afterwards subjoined baptizing them,” and so on. Now, though there is reason to believe, that some monks had departed from Basil’s rule in this point, yet, not ail ; for in the monastery of Bobbio, in the North of Italy, was a manuscript sacramentary, a perfect liturgy for the whole year, and supposed to be of the time of the abbot Bertulf, who flourished in the seventh century, which shews that the Popes had not at that time reduced baptism to babes under the Lombard government; for though Columban by a formal deed, put his monastery under the government of the Pope, yet in this liturgy, there is no office for the baptism of children, nor the least hint of pouring or sprinkling ; on the contrary, there is a directory for making a Christian of a Pagan before baptism, and for washing his feet after it ; and there is the delivery of

the creed in Lent with exhortations to competents, and suitable collects, epistles and gospels, as in other ordinals, preparatory to baptism on holy Saturday. The introductory discourse of the presbyter before delivering the creed, runs thus:—"Dear brethren, the divine sacraments are not so properly matters of investigation as of faith, and not only of faith but also of fear, for no one can receive the discipline of faith, unless he have for a foundation the fear of the Lord; for, as Solomon saith, *the fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom*. He that fears the Lord in all things which the Lord hath commanded, is both wise and faithful. You are about to hear the creed therefore to day, for without that, neither can Christ be announced, nor can you exercise faith, nor can baptism be administered. The creed is the token of the Catholic faith, the sacrament of eternal religion. You, therefore, competents, prepare your senses with all reverence; hearken to the creed, which the holy catholic church in the language of a mother delivers to you: *I believe in God the Father Almighty*;" and so on.

After he had repeated the creed, he expounded it sentence by sentence, referred to trine immersion, and closed with repeated observations on the absolute necessity of faith, in order to a worthy participation of baptism. In brief, while baptism was left to the choice of the people, it was not administered to babes, and although the sordid monks, with the views of enriching their houses, had reduced it to the size of all who could ask for it, yet they did not prevail over parents to allow them to dip babes till the Emperor Charlemagne, whose piety they celebrated in the highest strains, endowed them with secular authority by covering the western country with carnage and blood. Before that period, all the words, child, little one, infant, innocent, and all the diminutives of these little words, stood for such as could ask to be baptized, as a letter of a certain bishop, published by Florus, deacon of the church at Lyons, not long after the death of Charles, proves beyond all contradiction.—*R. E. R.* p. 366, 384, 471, to 475.

In the close of this century, Wulfran,

bishop of Sens, succeeded so far, as to engage Rathbod, king of the Frisians, to agree to be baptized. "The day appointed for the ceremony came, and the people with the priests, proceeded with the royal convert to the font; when the service had been performed so far that the king had set one foot into the water, he stopped short, and with a stern dignity becoming his rank, solemnly adjured the bishop in the name of Almighty God, to inform him, whether his departed ancestors, the ancient nobility and kings of Friesland, were in that celestial region, which had been promised him on condition he were baptised, or in that infernal gulf which he had been describing as the future abode of the unbaptized? Wulfran replied: "Excellent prince, be not deceived; God hath a certain number of his elect; your predecessors, former princes of the Frisians, dying unbaptized, are undoubtedly damned; but henceforth whosoever believeth, and is baptized shall be happy with Christ for ever in heaven." "Oh! if that be the case," exclaimed Rathbod, withdrawing his foot from the font, "I cannot

consent to give up the company of my noble predecessors, in exchange for that of a few poor people in your celestial region ; or rather, I cannot admit your novel positions, but I prefer the ancient and universal opinions of my own nation." Having so said, he retired, refusing, says the historian, to be dipped in the font of regeneration.

By fonts of *necessity*, are meant such convenient places to baptize in as missionaries made use of when they had not time or ability to erect regular chapels for artificial baths. The old chronologers of this country say, the first missionaries from Rome baptized the Anglo Saxons in rivers ; and John Fox observes that, " Whereas Austin baptized then in rivers, it followeth there was then no use of fonts." But this is not quite accurate, for the monks called those parts of the rivers in which they administered baptism, fonts. It is also remarkable that Paulinus, chaplain of the Queen of Northumberland, when he had prevailed on Edwin, her consort, to profess the religion of the queen, hastily ran up a wooden booth

at York, which he called St. Peter's church, and in which he catechised and baptised the king and many of the nobility. The same Paulinus baptised openly in the river Swale, for, says Bede, "they could not build oratories or baptisteries there in the infancy of the church." *R. H. B. p. 114, 115, 116.*

The first council of Nice took notice of two sorts of dissenters, (for the Arians and Athanasians were two great factions in the establishment), who held separate assemblies, though some of them agreed in speculation with the Arians, and others with the Athanasians. These were the Cathari and Paulianists. The first held the doctrine of the trinity, as the Athanasians in the church did; but thinking the church a worldly community, they baptised all who joined their assemblies by trine immersion, in the name of the Father Son and Holy Ghost, on their own personal profession of faith, and if they had been baptised before they re-baptised them. The latter baptised by dipping once in the name of Christ, and though they varied from the Arians, yet they all thought

Christ only a man. The fathers of Nice provided, as was observed before, for the admission of both if they should offer themselves, and the latter were re-baptised. They were very far from complying; for the next council, six and fifty years after, declared, that there were many, particularly in Galatia, out of the pale of the church. And it seems the more they tried to increase uniformity, the faster heretics multiplied in their hands; for, a council held at Constantinople in this century anathematizes thirty-nine sects by name, beside a great number of individuals.

Mahommed began to propagate his imposture about the year of *Christ* six hundred and twelve, and in the space of twenty three years he founded a new religion and a new empire, throughout the large country of *Arabia*.

Mahommed and his followers set aside baptism: and since his time some who professed christianity have followed the example, and have set it aside without any more authority from God, for their conduct, than he had.

Abubeker succeeded Mahommed, and in his short reign of two years and a few months, the Saracens made a great progress, entered far into Syria, and took Damascus. Omar, who succeeded Abubeker, reigned ten years and an half, and in that time subdued Syria, Palestine, Egypt, and other parts of Africa.

The military laws of the Mahommedans made a difference between those people they called *Harbi*, and the *people of a book*. The Harbi were either Atheists, and persons of no religion, or idolaters, who did not worship the *true God*, according to any book of Revelation. These were not tolerated in the Mahommedan law; but they were to be prosecuted with war, till they embraced the religion of Mahommed. But the *people of the book* were such as worshipped *God*, according to a book of Revelation, as the Jews and Christians, these were to be prosecuted with war, till they embraced Mahommedism, or agreed to pay a tribute: but then they were to be left in peace, and in the quiet use of their own religion, even where the Mahommedan

authority was fully settled. The Saracens persecuted none of these, Jews and Christians of all parties lived happy among them; numbers worshipped one God, practiced virtue, and expected immortality.

“It is allowed by all, that the infernal cruelties of pretendedly orthodox Christians both in the eastern and western empires had rendered the name of Christianity hateful. Their dissensions were perpetual, their rage for uniformity unquenchable, and there was not a crime in all the list of human vices, unknown or unpracticed under the name of Jesus Christ. This prepared the east for a revolution in religion.”

“After the Saracens had settled all disputes by overwhelming the country with arbitrary power, and the religion of Mahommed, vagabonds drew up long renunciations of Mahommedism for their conquerors to sign, on being baptised into their orthodox and universal church, and inserted execrations on all the ancient heads of families whom the Saracens had been used to celebrate for their wisdom and virtue,”

all which was concluded by saying, “I curse the God of Mahommed, who, he says, is one entire deity neither begetting nor being begotten, and like whom there is no other being. And I believe in God, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, the holy co-essential and undivided trinity,” and so on. These are a sort of last dying speeches and confessions of expiring orthodoxy, and of the Augustine African church, it is no breach of charity to say, it was begotten in melancholy, lived in frenzy, and died raving mad: for how horrible is the expression, *Anathematizo Mohamedis Deum!* *R. E:* *R.* 72, 112, to 115.

About the year six hundred and seventy, believers baptism was practised in Egypt, and in such esteem, that some, in other lands, did restore this ordinance of the Christian religion according to their example; which makes Jacob Pamelius upon Tertullian say, “That the beginners of the Christian religion who had separated themselves from the church of Rome, had placed religion upon its first apostolical foundation,

in teaching faith before baptism, as owned
 by the Egyptian divines." *Jos. Vicecomes.*
 1, 2. c. 3. *Pamelius upon Tertullian Dutch*
Martrol. Cent. vii.

Century the Eighth.

THE Pyrenean mountains which separate France and Spain, extend from the Mediterranean sea, to the Atlantic, that is above two hundred miles, and in breadth in several places more than a hundred. The surface is wonderfully diversified, hills rising upon hills, mountains over mountains. Deep dells, encircled with inaccessible mountains, to be entered only by narrow passes, and these unknown to all but the inhabitants; in some places bleak perpendicular rocks, in others beautiful fertile and extensive vallies, &c. &c. To these recesses reputed heretics emigrated at various times, abiding only where religious liberty could be enjoyed.

A spectator, from the tops of these mountains, might observe that at the foot of the Spanish side, lie Asturias, Old Cas-

tile, Arragon, and Catalonia; and on the French side Guienne, and Languedoc, Thoulouse, Berne Abby, Rousillon and Narbonne: places all remarkable in the darkest times for harbouring Christians called heretics.

When the Moors conquered Spain about the year 714, many of the Gothic and Spanish Christians, who did not know what liberty they should enjoy under the Saracen government, or who chose to be free, fled to these abodes of freedom, the Pyrenean mountains and either mixed with the old inhabitants or settled near them. For although the Moors carried their conquests over the Pyrenees, yet it should seem they occupied only some passes into Gaul, and left the fugitives as well as the old inhabitants to enjoy the rocks and vallies; or they were a sort of little republics protected by the Moors with whom they were in league, as they were also with their neighbours on the other side of the mountains in Narbonensian Gaul, for they and their allies were all Unitarians, as their ancestors had always been. *R. E. R. p. 242, 295.*

It is not unlikely but the vallies of the Pyreneans might be over-peopled by the numbers which fled there, and from that, or some other cause near the middle of this century, many thousands of these people, with their wives, children, and servants, emigrated over the Pyrenees, from the Spanish and French foot of the mountains.

“Here heresy erected its standard in seven hundred and eighty-three, and excepting the persecution of one man by the Emperor Charlemagne, here the voice of religious oppression was not heard till the year twelve hundred and seventy, a period of near five hundred years.” Then, as Zurita says, “In the month of November, friar Peter Cadrieta, and friar William, of Colonico, who had been appointed by the Pope inquisitors of heretical pravity in the kingdoms and lordships of the king of Arragon, assisted by the bishops of the diocese of Urgel, proceeded against such as were accused of the crime of holding the heresy of the Albigenses, and other errors, and condemned the memory of Arnold Viscount of Castelbo, and declared that he had been

an heretic, and a receiver and protector of heretics, and ordered that his bones should be dug up. The same sentence was passed on his daughter Ermesenda, late Viscountess of Castelbo.

Some of the inhabitants of the Pyrenees, and of the adjacent States, and not those of the vallies of Piedmont, were the true original Waldenses, for to them, and them only, do the descriptions in the books of the inquisitors agree : true it is that at the reformation, a people appeared in the vallies of Piedmont, who gave proof of their antiquity, and produced some writings which indicated their connection with the Catalonians. But there is one demonstrative proof mentioned by Ledger, that they are not the ancient Waldenses of Ecclesiastical history. The Piedmontese were Trinitarians uniform in religion ; but the old Waldenses had no notion of uniformity, and many of them were Manicheans and Arians. The Piedmontese were a handful, the Pyreneans were thousands, and tens of thousands. The Piedmontese were a tame dejected

people ; the Pyreneans high spirited and ardent for universal freedom, as their ancestors had been.

Danvers says, they were called Waldenses in this century by Claudius Sciscelius, counsellor to Charles the Great, who mentions them by that name in his book, *Advers Waldenses*. And that those who resided in the city of Alby and the country round, were afterwards called Albigenses on that account.

But leaving the inhabitants of these mountains, vallies, and forests who appear to have been Christians of the primitive stamp, let us take a slight view of those who continued in Spain. Who could have supposed that under the government of Mahommedans, they would have enjoyed more religious liberty than under that of Catholics, but so it was : the Manicheans, Priscillianists, Bonosians, Felicians, and others, who lived dispersedly all over Spain, enjoyed the liberty of worshipping God according to the dictates of their own consciences.

In the language of (Catholic) councils, canons, and books of divinity, other Chris-

tians in Spain are denominated, either with a view to their opinions, heretics, or with regard to their discipline schismatics; and as there was one article of discipline in which they all agreed, they are frequently named from that—this article was baptism. They all held that the catholic corporation was not the church of Christ, and they therefore rebaptized such as had been baptized in that community, before they admitted them into their own societies. For this reason they were called in general Anabaptists—and they baptized none without a personal profession of faith : they called themselves Christians ; they censured the fraud and folly of those who imposed on the world by calling themselves Catholics, and who ought rather to call themselves Cyprianites, being the apostate followers of that pretended saint ; they quoted abundance of scripture to prove, that a new testament church consisted of only virtuous persons, born of water and the spirit ; they separated from the Catholics on account of the impurity of their church ; they despised councils, and expressed their astonishment

that Christians approve of such superficial writings as those of Cyprian and others, called fathers ; and they took the New Testament for the rule of a Christian's faith and practice. They reproved the Catholics for calling themselves saints, while they exercised the violent passions of anger, and malice, and revenge against all who differed from them ; to which one saint, Pacianus, bishop of Barcelona, replied,—“ We only follow the example of bees, guarding the honey with the sting.” Whether by *the honey*, he meant the doctrines of the church, or *the money* their rich endowments brought them in, the historian doth not say.

“ It was with a very ill grace in Spain that this faction called themselves Catholic, or universal, for, as Cardinal Baronius properly enough observes, between the Priscillianists and Arians they were cooped up in a very narrow compass, and bore no proportion to heretics in numbers.”—*R. E. R.* p. 215, 240, 280, 300.

While the Catholics and other classes of Christians in Spain, enjoyed their religious

rights and privileges under the Mahomedan government, Charles the Great, when he had conquered the Saxons, reduced “the whole nation to the dreadful alternative, either of being assassinated by the troops, or of accepting life on condition of professing themselves Christians by being baptized; and the severe laws yet stand in the capitularies of this monarch, by which they were obliged, on pain of death, to be baptized themselves and of heavy fines to baptize their children within the year of their birth.”—

In this unjust and savage manner did Charlemagne subdue the Saxons, the Frisians, and the Huns, to the profession of the Christian religion. The example was followed by other princes, both of that and succeeding ages ; and Denmark, Sweden, and almost all the northern parts of Europe, were brought within the pale of the church by the same means.”

It was on account of such unjust proceedings that the old baptists used to apply the words of the Revelation to the Catholics; the beast *causeth all, both small and great, rich and poor, free and bond, to receive a*

mark in their right hand, or in their foreheads : and that no man might buy or sell, save he that had the mark, or the name of the beast, or the number of his name.—Rev. xiii.

16. 17. But wherever the orthodox had the power, they generally took care that the Baptists should *prophecy—clothed in sack-cloth.—Rev. xi. 3.*

But “ though the Catholics established their pretended Christianity by fraud, injustice, and murder, yet there were other Christians at that time living peaceably among these very Saxons, who remonstrated against such violent measures of enlarging the profession of Christianity, but they were overpowered, and pronounced heretics by the domineering party.—*R. H. B. p. 282, 286.*

Charles the Great, spake as a dragon ; and the sword of the dragon, or civil tyranny, was more congenial to the temper, and much more suitable to the purposes of the Popes and their clergy, than the sword of the spirit, or the word of God. It was the keenest argument these lordly tyrants over conscience could make use of ; and

the most expeditious method of making disciples to a practice unsupported by scripture and reason. The baptism of infants was the best means they could devise, to make national churches for them to rule and tythe; and they were not very scrupulous about the means used to accomplish these things. They taught the people that every individual had in him, Adam, and Eve, and Satan, and that baptism by trine immersion washed away all the three, therefore infants ought to be baptized as soon as possible, for none could be saved without it. Thus by every means in their power, they spread and maintained their doctrine and practice; and having established their influence with the ruling powers, they *cast down the truth to the ground, and practised and prospered.* —Dan. viii. 12. The institution of believers baptism, established by the Lord, was superceded, and those who maintained it denominated heretics and held up as men to be hated and persecuted. They had suffered much on account of their principles and practice for nearly three centuries before this commenced, and nearly eight centuries and

an half after it, a Pedobaptist author told the world that, “ Christian magistrates had never left burning, drowning, and destroying them, till their number was contemptible.” This is too true—but still there has been some of this contemptible number in all ages, who have taught and practiced believers’ baptism ; thus in this century it was practiced in Spain and elsewhere, and taught by several learned men ; for instance :—

Birinius, a learned man in Lower Saxony, taught instruction to be necessary before baptism ; and that without it, baptism ought not to be administered to high nor low.—*Bede* i. iv. c. 16, and i. iii. c. 7.—*Dutch Mar. p.* 205.

Hamo, in *Postil*. upon *Matt. Go and teach all nations, baptizing them, &c.*—Fol. 278, says,—In this place is set down a rule how to baptize ; that is, that teaching should go before baptism ; for he saith, teach all nations—and then he saith baptize them : for he that is to be baptized must be first instructed, that he first learn to believe that which in baptism he shall receive ; *for as*

faith without works is dead, so works, when they are not of faith, are nothing worth.

Bede says,—That men were first to be instructed into the knowledge of the truth, then to be baptized, as Christ hath taught ; —*because without faith it is impossible to please God.*

Again—If the word or water be wanting it is no baptism. And again—All those that came to the apostles to be baptized, were instructed and taught—then they received the holy administration thereof.—*Magd. Cent. viii. p. 218, 220.*

In the council of Laodicia, *Tit. 46.*—It was decreed, that those that will come to baptism, ought first to be instructed in the faith, and to make a confession thereof.

Rebanus, cap. 4, says,—That the catechism which was the doctrine of faith must go before baptism, to the intent that he that is to be baptized, may first learn the mysteries of faith—when he doth believe then he is to be admitted to baptism.

Remigius taught,—That faith is the principal thing in baptism; for without it, it is impossible to please God.—*Magd. Cent. viii. p. 144, 145.*

Century the Ninth.

FROM the coming of Odaocer into Italy to the reign of Charlemagne, is a space of three hundred years ; and the greater part of Italy during the whole time, enjoyed religious liberty. At Rome, the Popes, and at Ravenna, the Exarchs exercised intolerance ; but the Heruli, the Ostrogoths, and the Lombards, who had embraced christianity in the Unitarian form, long before they came into Italy, persecuted none, and protected all who submitted to civil government—*R. E. R. p. 364.* During the kingdoms of the Goths and Lombards, the Unitarian Baptists, or as the Catholics called them, Anabaptists, had their share of churches and baptisteries, and held no communion with either Rome, Milan, Aquileia, Ravenna, or any other hierarchy. Chapels and oratories were annexed to baptismal

churches, and went along with them. After the ruin of these kingdoms, laws were issued by the Emperors to deprive the laity and the Unitarians of baptismal churches, and to secure them to the Catholic clergy ; it was not very easy to effect this, however, time did effect it : then dissidents under various names worshipped either in their own houses, or in places hired for the purpose, which places, it should seem, were tenanted by one of the brethren ; their public religion consisted of nothing but social prayer, reading and reasoning on the gospel, baptism once, and the Lord's supper as often as was convenient ; and this was practicable in any place where two or three could assemble together.

As there are no histories of these dissidents written by themselves, and as all the accounts of them come from their persecutors, who detested them with a mortal hatred, so the inference which is drawn by all Protestants, and by many modern Catholics, is very fair ; that it is credible their names were unjustly aspersed, their characters blackened, and their opinions grossly mis-

represented : clear as noon it is, they well understood civil and religious liberty, and practised the duties of it. They are reproached with diversity of sentiment, but this was no crime in their societies, for virtue more than faith seems to have been the bond of their union. Their history defies every effort to class them after the modern fashion, in speculative division, and it is certain they allowed of a variety of modes of speculation, and were held together by ties of a far superior kind, principles of freedom and virtue, in which they all had a general interest.

The dissidents sometimes ventured to reside in Rome, the seat of tyranny itself, but when they were discovered by its tyrannical bishop, he bestirred himself, banished them from the city, and burnt their books ; Pope Gelasius, Symmachus, and Hormisdas, all did them this honor.—*R. E. R. p.* 381, 382.

Italy was full of such Christians, and omitting many names by which they were called, and which are local and indescriptive, there are three, which describe them

in different points of light and the union of the three is probably their true character.

They were called Manicheans, this regarded their speculations—they were called Paterines, this described their condition in life—they were called Gazari, this regarded their morals.

If they were called Manicheans, it was because they denied the catholic doctrine of a trinity, held the indivisible unity of the first great cause, and of course believed that Jesus was a man : they denied the popular doctrine of original sin, and accounted for the origin of evil as the Persian Manicheans and the Magi had done, by supposing moral evil to arise out of natural imperfection, for this seems to be what they intended.

Many writers have misrepresented their sentiments : but Mr. Beausobre who hath unravelled many of the sophisms of such writers, hath given a very different account of the men and their manners, and hath clearly shewn, that real Manicheism is but little understood, and that the passion of divines, for criminating all churches but their own, is not under the government of

a kind and wise criticism as it ought to be.

If they were called Paterines, it seems to be because they were chiefly of the lower order of people, mechanics, artificers, manufacturers, and others, who lived by their honest labours.

Gazari is a corruption of Cathari puritans, and it is remarkable, that in the examinations of these people they are not taxed with any immoralities, but were condemned for speculations, or rather for virtuous rules of action, which all in power accounted heresies. They said a christian church ought to consist of only good people; a church had no power to frame any constitutions, it was not right to take oaths; it was not lawful to kill mankind, a man ought not to be delivered up to officers of justice to be converted; the benefits of society belonged alike to all the members of it: faith alone could not save a man: the church ought not to persecute any even the wicked; the church cannot excommunicate; the law of Moses was no rule to christians: there was no need of Priests especially

wicked ones ; the sacraments and orders and ceremonies of the church of Rome were futile, expensive, oppressive, and wicked ; with many more such positions all inimical to the hierarchy. In these reasons and rules of action they all agreed, but in doctrinal speculation they widely differed.

As the catholics of those times baptised by immersion, the Paterines by what name soever they were called as Manicheans, Gazari, &c. made no complaint of the mode of baptising ; but when they were examined they objected vehemently against the baptism of infants, and condemned it as an error. They said, among other things, that a child knew nothing of the matter ; that he had no desire to be baptised, and was incapable of making any confession of faith, and that the willing and professing of another could be of no service to him.

They were zealous for the doctrine of the unity of God. They denied the popular notions of the trinity, the deity of Christ, and the separate existence of the holy spirit.

R. E. R. p. 405 to 408.

The wisdom of the Paterines in separating wholly from the church of Rome, appears in a striking light, when contrasted with the weakness of those who endeavoured to incorporate the morality of the Paterines into the established church, in order to reform the community. In such little free societies as those of the Paterines, every house hath an allowed right, and a real power to reform itself; and an impropriety discovered in April, may be remedied in May, by a vote of the house, or if this cannot be obtained, dissidents may constitutionally depart in peace; but in the catholic church, which is a great monarchy, subject to the will of one, none but the despot hath a right, and he generally hath no power; because his despotism is restrained by cabinets and councils to reform the church.

The Paterines knew their discipline could not possibly be practiced in the church, they therefore withdrew, and let the church alone, constantly avowing the sufficiency of scripture, the competency of each to reform himself, the right of all, even women, to teach, and openly disclaiming all manner of coercion. *R. E. R. p. 414, 415.*

It seems to have been a favourable circumstance for the dissidents, that in this century several bishops in the north of Italy, had not submitted to the usurpations of the Roman Pontiff. Thus, Angilbertus, Archbishop of Milan, would not acknowledge the the supremacy of Pope, nor did the church of Milan submit to the See of Rome, till two hundred years afterwards.

In the eighth century “there were two christian teachers, Elipand and Felix, who supposed Jesus was the Son of God by adoption, not by nature.” Claude, bishop of Turin, who flourished in this century, was a disciple of Felix. He asserted the equality of all the Apostles, with St. Peter, and maintained that Jesus Christ was the only head of the church. He overthrew the doctrine of merit, and all pretences to works of supererogation. He rejected traditions in matters of religion—he may in a manner be said to have sown the seeds of the reformation in his diocese of Turin; and his doctrines took such deep root, especially in the vallies of Piedmont, that they continued to flourish there for some

centuries, as the catholics themselves acknowledge. *Goadby on Rev.* xi.

In regard to baptism amongst his disciples, the Vaudois, nothing can be determined by any writings of their own, for they published nothing. The most probable opinion is, that they baptised minors after they had been instructed, which was the general practice in the time of Claude—and dipping was then the mode. If their modern papers describe their ancient customs, they baptised no babes. *R. E. R.* p. 471, 468.

The Calvinists of Geneva have introduced Claude and the Vaudois in their pretended apostolical succession, a succession made up of men of all principles and all communities, and, what is very surprising, of Popes, Arians, and Anabaptists, exactly such men as Calvin and his comrades committed to the flames for heresy. No writer hath chastised them more severely or more justly, for claiming apostolical succession through the Vaudois than bishop Bossuet. Said he, “ provided any person complained of any one doctrine of the church, and especially if he murmured against the Pope,

whatever he were in other respects, or whatever opinions he held, he is put into a catalogue of predecessors of protestants, and judged worthy to support the succession of their churches. As to the Vaudois they were a species of donatists, and worse than the ancient donatists of Africa. They held opinions which we all, both reformed and catholics, abhor. They never heard of predestination, and justification, till the Calvinists preached to them. They refused in all cases to take oaths. They all, without distinction, if they were reputed good people, preached and administered ordinances. They made no provision for a clergy, but required all to work for their bread. They formed their churches of only good men. They published no creeds: How can these, whom we both count heretics, be put into a succession of protestants?" His lordship observes the same of individuals: "You call Claude of Turin one of your apostolical church; but Claude was an Arian, a disciple of Felix, of Urgel. You adopt Henry and Peter Bruis; but both these every body knows were anabaptists. All these people

held many articles intolerable to you as well as to us: but all these you pass by in favour of five or six points in which they agree with you, and in spite of their hypocrisy, and heresy, these people are registered as your predecessors." "These are loose desultory hints, taken from a connected well written piece, which never hath been answered, and never can, till protestants change the ground of attack; and, on the broad plan of universal freedom, allow the variety proved by the prelate, and justify it as an excellence of the Christian religion, which can never be endangered by diversity of sentiment, as long as uninterrupted revelation is made the ground of action, the test of a Christian, and the bond of society." *R. E. R. p. 476, 477.*

In Spain, the several classes of Christians who readily paid the regular taxes, enjoyed as many of their rights and privileges as could be expected under the Moorish government, and an absolute monarch. But some of the enthusiastical catholics pretended that the clergy ought not to be taxed. They argued that estates given to the

church were oblations to God and the saints, in their representatives, the Monks, who were appointed general receivers by heaven; and that it was sacrilege to profane such oblations to secular purposes; and that it was the most infernal of all kinds of sacrilege to apply the property of saints to the support of infidels; and they added, all the saints in heaven would revenge the crime.

The Mohammedan financiers did not understand this logic, and they levied their taxes equally. The Mozarabick commissioners thought the pretended saints revilers, who should not enter into the kingdom of God: they therefore took the side of the Moors, justified their conduct by scripture, and made impartial assessments. The Monks excommunicated the commissioners, called these mild maxims, though expressed in literal words of scripture, heresy, and fomented riots; in suppressing which some suffered, and the survivors put them in a list of martyrs, and published their merits to the world, as if they had suffered for conscience sake. This was about the year 350. *R. E. R. p. 233, 234.*

Walafridus Strabo, who lived in this century, says, "It should be observed, that in the primitive times, the grace of baptism was usually given to those only who were arrived at such maturity of body and mind, that they could understand what were the benefits of baptism, what was to be confessed and believed, and, finally, what was to be observed by those that are regenerated in Christ." On this passage the remark of Colomesius, as quoted by a nameless writer, is as follows: "Hence with reason you may infer, that adults only are the proper subjects of baptism." Perfectly conformable to which is a canon of the council of Paris, in the year eight hundred and twenty-nine, as produced by the same anonymous author; thus it reads, "In the beginning of the holy church of God, no one was admitted to baptism, unless he had before been instructed in the sacrament of faith and of baptism; which is proved by the words of Paul." *Rom. vi. 3, 4, 5. B. P. E. vol. ii. p. 83.*

Century the Tenth.

THE genius, and consequently the history of the Greek church are totally different from those of Rome. The great spring of action at Rome was love of dominion, for the head of the church was a secular prince; but the patriarch of Constantinople always had a master at his side, the reigning Emperor. The patriarch excommunicated heretics, but the Pope destroyed them; this church, therefore, cannot justly be called a bloody church. The patriarch Chrysostom, declaimed perpetually against heresy, and excommunicated heretics; but with a remnant of true Grecian spirit, he reasoned against penal sanctions.—*R. E. R. p. 95.*

There is in the history of the Greek church an amazing and instructive variety. The human heart unfolds itself in every

dissimilitude of form in regard to religion both speculative and practical, as it tends toward the common parent of mankind, feeling after God, if haply it may find him. When the church recovers that primitive coolness of temper which human tests have disconcerted, some pen free from the venom of party zeal, will write an history rich with information, and abounding with motives to moderation, the ground-plot of virtue. Free thinking in an empire, is the same to a church established on human tests, as health is in a city in an unwholesome clime, every now and then the blessing visits every family. In some periods of this history, Emperors caress and favour dissenters, so did Nicephorus by the Paulicians; in others they persecute them with bitterness and rage; so Constans, Justinian the second, and Leo the Isaurian, oppressed the same people: Leo the Armenian inflicted capital punishment on them; and that fury Theodora destroyed above an hundred thousand of them by fire and sword, drove them to madness, and forced them to take up arms. Yet all this could not prevent the ingress of

heresy to the church, and Palamas, archbishop of Thessalonica, became a mystic, and was both applauded and abused for being an Euchite. Greek heretics explained themselves differently, but whoever casts his eye on Zygarbene's book, will see reason to think they would most of them be now called Unitarian Baptists.—*R. H. B. p. 89, 90.*

Nonconformists had always been dispersed all over the empire, and had trusted for liberty to the chapter of accidents. The clergy were always troublesome, but imperial apostles never attempted to convert them, while they had other affairs of more importance in hand; for domestic factions for the purple, insurrections against oppression in the provinces, and irruptions of neighbouring nations into the empire, generally found them full employ. Some Emperors had been indifferent, others had cherished them, others had persecuted them; but in the middle of this tenth century, they had obtained a settlement at Philippolis, where, and in the adjacent country they lived, of various sentiments but in perfect concord, till the reign of Alexias.

About the year nine hundred and seventy, Theodorus, the patriarch of Antioch said, his patriarchate was full of heretics, and he besought the Emperor, John Zimisce, to rid him of them; the Emperor complied, but he discovered great prudence in the method of doing it, he removed them to Philippolis, and all the adjacent country was filled with inhabitants free and happy. And what was best of all, from hence they dispersed themselves all over Europe. Here were Euchites of all sorts; as Manicheans, Paulianists, Bogomilans, and various parties that is multitudes of people who thought for themselves, and who unawed by authority, despised superstition, and placed religion in piety and virtue.—*R. E. R. p. 73, 74, 75.*

The Philippolitans in time dispersed themselves over Europe, where their name was corruptly sounded Popolicans, Publicani, or Publicans. Venema mentions them under the name of Publicans, and tells us, they asserted, that infants were not to be baptized, till they arrive at years of understanding.—*See Du Pin, cent. p. xii. p. 88.*
—*In B. P. E. vol. ii. p. 125.*

What Venemā says of their sentiments is strengthened by the consideration of their being the descendants of the Greek Eucharites, or Dissenters, who were Baptists, particularly the Eunomians, who denied the trinity and rejected the baptism of trine immersion of the established church, and administered baptism by single immersion.—*R. H. B. p. 48, 514.*

Rapin says, Henry II. ordered a council to meet at Oxford in 1166, to examine the tenets of certain heretics, called Publicani.—*Hist. Eng. vol. i. p. 350.* William of Newbury calls them Publicans, who being convened before a council, held at Oxford for that purpose; and being interrogated concerning certain articles of faith, said perverse things concerning the divine sacraments, detesting holy baptism, the eucharist, and marriage :—*Neubrigensis de Rebus, Anglicanis, i. ii. c. xiii. p. 155.* And his Annotator Picardus, out of a manuscript of Radulph, the monk, shews that the heretics called publicans, affirm, that we must not pray for the dead; that the suffrages of the saints were not to be asked; that they

believe not purgatory, with many other things ; and particularly, “ *they* assert that infants are not to be baptized till they come to the age of understanding.—*Note in ibid*, p. 720, 723. Mr. Fox says, they were all burnt in the forehead, and so driven out of the realm, and afterwards slain by the Pope.—*Acts and Monuments*, vol. p. 233.

Walden says,—the Publicani denied baptism to little ones.—*De Bap. Sacramen. tit. v. c. liii. fol. 118.*

These circumstances are introduced, to shew the principles of those Christians the Emperor removed from Antioch to Philipopolis.

“ Catholics allow the ignorance, immorality, and barbarism of their church in these times, but they say, foreigners overwhelmed them with ignorance, and barbarism was the universal character of the times. Nothing can be less true, for arts, sciences, and literature of every kind flourished in Spain, among Mohammedans and Jews ; and their mathematicians, physicians, and philosophers, obtained immortal reputation.”—*R. H. B.* p. 302, 303.

“ There were no heretics at Granada. In the same street a man might see, without wondering at the sight, the snug monk trudging along with his crown shaven, and in the habit of his order : the mussulman sailing in his striped robes of Persian silk or cotton : the rabbi plodding in the display of his silver beard ; the nun tripping in her weeds and her veil ; and the honest Manichean carrying home his work to Aaron the Jew.”—*R. E. R.* p. 256.

Baronius denominates this an iron, a leaden, and obscure age ; and declares that, “ Christ was then as it appears, in a very deep sleep, when the ship was covered with waves ; and what seemed worse, when the Lord was thus asleep, there were wanting disciples, who by their cries might awaken him, being themselves all fast asleep.”—*Goadby on Rev.* xi.

But sleepy as the Catholics were, they could discern the dissidents ; and Atto, bishop of Vercelli, complained of them about the middle of this century, but complaints did not seem to hurt them, as it will

be shewn in the next century that they were upon the increase.

But even Atto himself, Rutherius, Abbo, and other sober bishops, in this dark age, could see, and in their sermons urged the necessity of instructing before baptizing. They knew infant baptism was an innovation, but they were obliged to wink at worse things than that, among their profligate clergy.

There was an officer in the church of Milan, named Ambrose, who wrote to Atto, to desire an account of the original institution of the female officers, called deaconesses. Atto answered, they had been appointed formerly for the purposes of baptizing women. He adds, very truly, that in the primitive church there were female elders who taught, as well as female deacons who baptized.—*R. H. B. p. 308, 309.*

In this century, Auslebertus taught, that the faithful are born not of blood, but of God, viz. of the word of God preached, and of the baptism of God duly adminis-

tered ; by which sacraments, God's children are begotten.

Smaragdo, in the latter part of Matt. saith, first men are to be taught in the faith, then after to be baptized therein ; for it is not enough that the body is baptized, but that the soul first by faith receive the truth thereof.

Theophilact saith, whoever are truly baptized into Christ, have put on Christ.—*Magd. Cent. p. 186, 187, 189.*

Gistbertus, a learned man, heretofore of another mind, opposed the Pope and Romish church on the point of baptism ; for in general it was by them taught, that upon pain of salvation, it is necessary to baptize young children, although they be not regenerated, and cannot desire it ; which nevertheless is required in those that are baptized. In opposition thereto, he taught that baptism only accompanied salvation to those that were re-generated, and did desire the same ; which he considered as the chief means, with the grace of God, to attain salvation ; yet, nevertheless, denied not salvation to a believer, through the grace of

God, though he had not attained baptism, an opportunity being wanting to him, though concluding it very necessary and desirable to every believer to obey Christ therein—*Magd. Cent. x. c. 4.*

Century the Eleventh.

FROM the tenth to the thirteenth century the Italian dissidents continued to multiply and increase; several reasons may be assigned for this. The excessive wickedness of the court of Rome, and the Italian prelates, was better known in Italy than in other countries; and the adjacency of France and Spain contributed to their increase, for both abounded with Christians of this sort.

About the year one thousand and forty, the Paterines had become very numerous and conspicuous at Milan, which was their principal residence, and here they flourished at least two hundred years. They had no connection with the church, for they rejected not only Jerom of Syria, Augustine of Africa, and Gregory of Rome, but Am-

brose of Milan; and they considered them and all other pretended fathers, as corrupters of christianity. They particularly condemned Pope Sylvester, as the antichrist, the son of perdition, mentioned by Paul, as sitting in the temple of God as God.

The churches of the Italian dissidents were divided into sixteen compartments, such as the English Baptists would call associations: each of these was subdivided into parts, which would be here called churches or congregations. In Milan there was a street called Pararia, where it is supposed they met for divine worship—at Modena they assembled at some water mills—they had houses at Ferrara, Brescia, Viterbo, Verona, Vicenza, and several in Rimini, Romandiola, and other places. One of the principal churches was that of Concorezzo, in the Milanese; and the members of churches in this association were more than fifteen hundred: the houses where they met seem to have been hired by the people, and tenanted by one of the brethren; there were several in each city, and each was distinguished by a mark known only by them-

selves. They had three, some say four sorts of officers: the first were teachers called bishops—John de Casalotto was the resident teacher at Mantua;—Albert and Bonaventura Belasmagra, at Verona;—Lorenzo or Lawrence, at Sermione. The second are called questors, and by some elder and younger sons; here they would be named teaching elders or deacons. The third were messengers, that is men employed in travelling to administer to the relief and comfort of the poor and persecuted. In times of persecution they met in small companies of eight, twenty, thirty, or as it happened, but never in large assemblies, for fear of consequences. The different associations held different doctrines, but they were all united in opinion against the whole of popery, and in perfect agreement among themselves on the great leading points above mentioned. They received members by imposition of hands, and some practised the washing of feet.

The Paterines were decent in their deportment, modest in their dress and discourse, and their morals were irreproach-

able. In their conversation there was no levity, no scurrility, no detraction, no falsehood, no swearing; their dress was neither fine nor mean; they were chaste and temperate, never frequenting taverns or places of public amusement; they were not given to anger and other violent passions; they were not eager to accumulate wealth, but were content with a plain plenty of the necessities of life; they avoided commerce, because they thought it would expose them to the temptation of collusion, falsehood and oaths; and they chose to live by labour or handicraft. They were always employed in spare hours either in giving or receiving instruction: their bishops and officers were mechanics, weavers, shoemakers, and others, who maintained themselves by their industry. In vain to avoid the fury of the clergy, they sometimes took a cross and walked in procession with their neighbours; their speech and even their looks betrayed them. The great Muratori observes, that authentic writers of those times do not charge them with immorality.—*R. E. R. p.* 410, 411, 417.

At Parenza, many who opposed Pedobaptism, and other articles of the Roman church, were condemned and put to death.

—*Baron. Annals*, 1095. t. ii.—*Ab. Mellin*, fol. 395.

Mr. Stennett relates a passage from Dr. Allix concerning Gundulphus and his followers in Italy, divers of whom, Gerard, bishop of Cambray, and Arras, interrogated upon several heads in the year 1025 ; and among other things, that bishop mentions the following reasons which they gave against infant baptism.—“ Because an infant that neither wills nor runs, that knows nothing of faith, is ignorant of its own salvation and welfare, in whom there can be no desire of regeneration or confession of faith; the will, faith, and confession of another man, seems not in the least to appertain.—*Stennett against Russen*, p. 84, 85.

It has been supposed these men were Manicheans, and that the Manicheans denied baptism, because the Catholics almost always taxed those with denying baptism who were against the baptism of infants. But Dr. Mosheim and others, have clearly

proved, that the Manicheans did baptize believers by immersion, on the profession of their faith.—*R. H. B.* p. 211, 212, 496.

The Waldensian Christians have been mentioned in the eighth century. The learned Archbishop Usher, in his book entitled—*The Succession and State of the Christian Churches*—traces its succession through them, in distinction from, and in opposition to the Romish Church, and tells us, out of the fragments of the history of Aquitain, written by P. Pithas, p. 81, 82, that in the time of Robert, King of France, (about the year 1017,) that they of Aquitain and Thoulouse (principal places of the Waldenses in France,) did deny baptism, (for so they called denying baptism to little ones,) the sign of the cross, the real presence in the Eucharist, and other rites of the church; and that many of them were sentenced by the council and burnt.

He also tells us out of Papir. Masson, in his French Annals, that fourteen citizens of Orleans in the reign of King Robert, were convicted of the same heresy, for denying baptismal grace and the real presence, and

were all burned alive ; and that the names of three of the chief of them were Herbert, Lisius, and Stephanus ; this, according to Vignier's Eccles. Hist. was in 1022. Their enemies as usual charged them with holding many absurdities to excuse their own cruelty.

About the year 1035, Bruno, bishop of Angiers, and Berengarius, archdeacon of the same church, began to spread their particular notions. What they taught respecting baptism and the Lord's Supper, may be learned in part from the letter sent by Deodwinus, bishop of Liege, to Henry I, King of France, in which are the following words, " There is a report come out of France, and which goes through all Germany, that these two do maintain, that the Lord's Body (the Host) is not the body, but a shadow and figure of the Lord's Body, and that they do disannul lawful marriages, and as as far as in them lies, overthrow the baptism of infants." And also from Guimundus, bishop of Aversa, who wrote against Berengarius, who says, " that he did not teach rightly concerning the bap-

tism of infants, and concerning marriage.”
 —*Magd. Cent.* xi. c. 5. This is to be understood in the Catholic sense of disannulling marriage, they denied it to be a sacrament of Christianity as the Catholics had made it.

The Magdeburgenses, speaking of Berengarius, say, that Berengarius of Turain, in Anjou, did publicly maintain his heresies about the year 1049, denying transubstantiation and baptism to little ones, which Lanfranck, archbishop of Canterbury, in his book called *Seintillaris*, answers at large; and to his denying infant baptism, he answered by saying—he doth thereby oppose the general doctrine and universal consent of the church.—*Cent.* xi. c. v. p. 240.

Durandus, bishop of Leodiennes, charges them with denying, and as much as in them lay, destroying the baptism of infants.—*Bib. Pamp.* 432.

Dr. Usher tells us, in the succession of the church, p. 252—that Bruno, bishop of Tryers, did expel several of the Berengarian sect, that had spread his doctrine in several of the Belgic countries, and that

several of them upon examination did say that baptism did not profit children to salvation.

Thuanus in his preface to his history says, —the learned Berengarius and his followers, were great assertors of baptism after faith, and that many of them did witness the same unto blood—*Ab. Millen, l. 2, fol. 395.—Saxon Chron. Anno, 1135.*

Pope Leo the ninth, in his decretal epistle to the bishop of Aquitain (a country where the Waldenses resided) about the year 1050, commanded that young children should be baptized because of original sin. And why should this decree be made, if there were none who opposed the baptism of infants.—*Danvers Treat. on Bap. p. 249.*

And about the same time, in the reign of the Emperor Henry III. several were put to death at Goslar, for opposing infant baptism, under the name of Manicheans.—*Ab. Millen, from fol. 8 to 422.*

Peter Abalardus, a learned man, and a great opposer of infant baptism, was imprisoned and martyred at Rome.—*Ab. Millen, l. ii. p. 425.*

Bishop Usher, out of Radulph Ard. Homil. tells us,—that in Germany, under the reign of Henry III. about the 1054, some called Manicheans inhabited the country of Aganensis, who denied baptism and the sacrament of the altar. That is, they denied infant baptism and the mass.

Pope Gregory VII. anno 1070, decreed, —that those young children, whose parents are absent or unknown, should, according to the tradition of the fathers, be baptized. Thus when the parents were put to death or driven away by persecution, they took care that their children should receive catholic baptism.

In this century Anselm taught,—that believers are baptized into the death of Christ, that believing his death, and conforming thereto, may as dying with him, live also with him.

Again,—the baptism of Christ is the washing of water into the word of life; take away either water or word, baptism ceaseth.

And again—whoever is baptized, hath heaven opened to him, and knows God is there

above, ready to receive him ; which, as by the steps of a ladder, he must from his baptism ascend to him ; for as Solomon says, *the way of life is above to the wise.*—Magd. Cent. p. 169, 116, 160, 170.

Buchardus Normatienses saith,—that repentance and faith must precede baptism.—*In his sixth book de Sacrament.*

Ado. Treverenses says,—that faith and repentance must go before baptism.—*Vicecom. l. 3. c. 12.*

Bonizo, bishop of Placentia, about the year 1080, wrote a book on the sacraments. On baptism, he observes,—“ that Jesus ordered his disciples to teach and baptize ; that instruction ought to precede baptism, because as faith without works was dead, so works without faith was unprofitable ”—that “ it was not till the end of Peter’s sermon, when the people were *pricked in their heart*, and said, *men and brethren what shall we do ?*—that the Apostle said,—*Repent and be baptized every one of you.* ”—R. H. B. p. 313.

Century the Twelfth.

IN the year 1105, several were banished from the bishopric of Tryers, for opposing infant baptism—*Twisk Cron.* i. 12, anno 1105,—*Montanus*, p. 83.—*Morning*, p. 592.

In the reign of Alexias, great numbers of Armenians and enthusiasts, as the Imperial family called them, resided at Constantinople. When their teachers were men of remarkable talents and became popular—when in consequence of this they taught in the houses of great families,—and when any of the clergy became infected with their doctrines, government nipped them a little, and forced them to retire and skulk into corners. The emperor sent for Nilus, one of their preachers, and endeavoured to inform him of the hypostatical union, but Nilus defended his doctrine, and could not say

after his condescending master. The emperor desired the patriarch Nicholas to instruct the man and his followers. The patriarch called a synod, and summoned the principal of these enthusiasts, and as they went to reasoning with the synod, instead of repenting of their errors, he anathematised them; this frightened the lower people. But as a mock emperor started just at the time in the provinces, Alexias headed his army, the synod went to sleep, and enthusiasm was left to itself.—*R. E. R. p. 73.*

An event fell out which called the emperor into Thrace, when he took an opportunity of endeavouring to convert the descendants or disciples of those people, which Zimisces had placed there in the tenth century. His majesty caused his converts to be baptized, that is re-baptized, for the members of churches had been dipped once in the name of Christ: many, however, persisted in error, like the Maccabees, says the historian. There were three principal men named Coulcoon, Pholos, and Cusinos, whom his majesty could not convince, and them he sent to Constantinople. After his

arrival, he condescended to take great pains to convert the three, one yielded, and the other two were confined for life in the ivory tower.

But when the infirmities of old age came on, Alexias grew more severe, and being informed, that there was a people in great repute for an apparent sanctity of manners, and very numerous, in various parts of the empire, who were called by the people of Mysia, Bogomilans, from two Bulgarian words, which signified God be merciful; and that one Basil, a physician, was the man of greatest note among them, and a popular preacher. He sent for him, and used every method he could invent to make him recant his doctrine, that he might save his life. Basil was immoveable, his judges agreed to pass sentence of death upon him, and the virtuous old man was committed to the flames. A great fire was prepared in a public place, and in the presence of innumerable spectators, he suffered say, historians, with a courage and a calmness worthy of a better cause; as if there were any better cause than that of liberty and virtue,

The confusion of the populace was great, and some of his expressions were perverted; however, he was heard to say, as he approached his fate, those words of the psalmist:—*Thou shalt not be afraid of the destruction that waxeth at noon day.* The fire was excessive, and he was instantly consumed.

Although the religious principles and practices of the Bogomilans, have been purposely mangled and misrepresented, yet it is not very difficult to obtain probable evidence of what they were. They believed in one God; they denied the doctrine of persons in the Deity; they thought Jesus a man in whom the Deity dwelt; they rebaptized such as joined their churches; they worshipped God by prayer and singing his praise; they read and enforced the scriptures, and simply administered the Lord's Supper; they placed religion in what it really consists, piety and virtue.—*R. E. R. p. 80, 85, 90.* And they administered baptism to adults, as the Manicheans and others did by immersion—*R. H. B. p. 211.*

Many Greeks from Bulgaria and Philipopolis, settled in Italy about the time that the emperor Alexias disturbed the Philipopolitans, and burnt Basil. These encreased the number of dissidents in Italy, and the clergy preached, prayed, and published books against them with unabated zeal. About the year 1190, one Bonacurse, who pretended he had been one of these Patarines, made a public recantation of his opinions, embraced the Catholic faith, and filled Milan with fables, as many renegades do. This good Christian published, that cities, suburbs, towns and castles were full of these false prophets, and this was the time to suppress them; and that the prophet Jeremiah had directed the Milanese what to do, when he said,—*Cursed be he that keepeth back his sword from blood.*—R. E. R. p. 409, 412.

It has been said before, that these dissidents were often called Cathari, and here it is noticed, that the clergy preached and wrote against them. Erbrardus, a great doctor of this time, saith, that the Cathari do deny baptism to children, because they

want understanding; and therefore spends his sixth chapter to confute them, the title of which is,—children which cannot speak ought to be baptized—and concludes thus; by this therefore we find, that we ought to call little ones to faith by baptism.—*Bib. Pat. tom. iv. p. 1108.*

Arnold of Brescia appears to have been a man of considerable note among the Italian dissidents, and at the Lateran council under Innocent II. anno 1139, he was condemned, as was also Peter Bruis, for opposing infant baptism, and other catholic doctrines.—*Prido's Introduct. to Hist. Latin Councils, p. 23.*—*Wall's Hist. Bap. vol. ii. p. 184.* And at Rome, in the year 1155, he was first hung, then his body was burned, and his ashes thrown into the Tiber.—*Usher's Success. Goadby on Rev. xi.*

Peter Bruis was an eminent man among the Waldenses, who publicly and most successfully preached the gospel in the city of Thoulouse, and the provinces round about it, for nearly twenty years; and who for his opposing the doctrines of the church of Rome was apprehended, imprisoned and

burnt in the fields of St. Giles's, near Toulouse, about the middle of this century, whose doctrines and positions for which he suffered, we have recorded by the *Magdeb. cent.* xii. 843, and *L'Osiander, cent.* xii. 262—And amongst which we find these about baptism.

First.—That infants are neither to be saved nor to be baptized by the faith of another, all being to be baptized, and expect to be saved by their own proper faith.

Secondly—That baptism without proper faith saves not.

Thirdly—That little children that are under age and without understanding, that are brought to baptism, are not saved thereby.

Fourthly—That those that are baptized in their infancy, after they are come to understanding, are to be baptized again, and which is not to be esteemed re-baptization, but right baptism.

Mosheim assures us, that Peter de Bruis, who made the most laudable attempts to reform the abuses and to remove the super-

stitutions that disfigured the beautiful simplicity of the gospel insisted; that no persons whatever were to be baptized before they were come to the full use of their reason.—

Eccles. Hist. cent. xii. part ii.

Venema shews, that the Petrobrusians in the twelfth century maintained, that pædobaptism cannot save infants, nor the faith of another be profitable to them.—*Eccles. Hist. tom. vi. p. 129.*

Peter, the abbot of Clugney, wrote against Peter Bruis and Henry his colleague, and among other errors he imputes to them, are these:—"That infants are not baptized or saved by the faith of another, but ought to be baptized and saved by their own faith, or that baptism without their faith does not save; and that those that are baptized in infancy, when grown up, should be baptized again; nor are they then re baptized, but rightly baptized."—*Hist. Eccl. Magd. cent. xii. c. v. p. 332.*

Cassander, in his preface to his book of Infant Baptism, imputes the denial of this principle to Peter Bruis, and his disciple Henry, from whom the Petrobrusians and

Henricians took their name ; and speaking of their pretended heresy, has these words : —“ which heretics first openly condemned infant baptism, and stiffly asserted that baptism was fit only for the adult, which they both verbally taught, and really practised in their administration of baptism.”

Prateolus, speaking of Peter Bruis, says, —“ He asserted that baptism was useless to children, who wanted the exercise of reason, because infants who wanted the use of reason cannot have faith, so as to believe the word of God when preached to them; which he asserted to be absolutely necessary to every one who submitted to baptism, so that if any one should be baptized without previous faith, he said his baptism would be of no use to him.” This author charges the same opinion on Henricus, the disciple of Peter Bruis.—*Stennett's answer to Russen*, p. 83, 84.

Henry, the friend and colleague of Peter Bruis, was condemned for preaching the same doctrines, and imprisoned for life.

Arnold was another eminent man among the Waldensians, who with two of his asso-

ciates, Marsillius and Theodoricus, had a public dispute at Cologne, against one Eckbertus, and were afterwards condemned as heretics. Arnold and eight of his disciples were burnt at Cologne, August 2, 1163. Theodoricus and Marsillius, were afterwards burnt at Bunnea, near Cologne. Eckbertus saith,—that the principal argument they brought against infant baptism, was the commission of Christ.—*Usher Suc. p. 292.*

In the year 1176, Pope Alexander III. called a Gallican council, to convince and condemn the Allegensian heresy, in the third canon whereof they say, they do convince and judge them of heresy, for denying baptism to children, or that they are to be saved thereby, &c. which may be seen at large in the book of decretals.

The same pope, in the year 1179, in the general Lateran council, condemns the Waldensian or Catharian heresy, and in the twenty-seventh canon, anathematizes the Cathari, &c. dwelling in Gascoyne, Albÿ, and other parts about Thoulouse, and among the rest of their heresies, for denying baptism to children, and for their con-

tempt of all the sacraments.—*Decretals as before.*

In the year 1181, Pope Lucius held his general council at Verona, in the time of Fred. I. wherein the Albigensian sect and heresy were damned, and anathematized under the names of Cathari, Patrini, Humiliati, poor people of Lyons, and Arnoldists, for daring to preach without apostolical approbation—and for teaching otherwise about the Eucharist, baptism, confession, marriage, and the other sacraments of the church, than the church of Rome preacheth and observeth.—*Favin Hist. p. 290.*

Roger de Hovenden, in his annals, says —“ that in the year 1182, Henry II. was very favourable to the Waldensian sect in England, for whereas they burnt them in many places of Flanders, Italy, and France, in great numbers, he would not suffer any such thing here, and being in his own, and his Queen's right, possessed of Aquitain, Poictou, Guienne, Gascoyne, Normandy, &c. the principal places inhabited by the Waldenses and Albigenses, and they being

his subjects, they had free egress into his territories here."

Burnt them in great numbers,—yes, Giles le Maitre told Henry II. of France, that Phillip Augustus caused six hundred Albigenes to be burnt in one day. Phillip began his reign in 1180.—Martin's Memoirs of French Protestants, p. 15.

In 1182, many of the Waldensian faith suffered death in Flanders under the Earl Phillip Erbzates, for opposing pedo-baptism.—*Jo. Andriesz, Hist. of Antiq. Twisk. Cron. i. xii. anno 1182, p. 489.*

In 1182, many of the Waldenses who opposed the church of Rome in the business of infant baptism, were burnt in Germany, by Conradus van Morpurgh.—*Ab. Bzov. t. xiii. Baron Annals, anno 1232.*

In this century, Rupertes taught, that they who do believe and make confession thereof, are to be baptized.—That many who are baptized with water, are not renewed in the spirit of their minds—That the visible baptism of water we may confer, but that in which the virtue of baptism doth consist, we cannot.

Peter Lombard says,—that the reason why baptism was instituted was, that the mind might be changed, that the man, who by sin was made old, by grace might be renewed. And that believers, who are baptized in faith, receive both the sacrament and the thing, but they who have not faith, may receive the sacrament, but not the thing intended in the sacrament.—*Magd. Cent.* p. 597, 598, 529.

“Otho, bishop of Bamberg, baptized his converts in Pomerania in bathing tubs let into the ground, and surrounded with posts, ropes from post to post, and curtains hanging on the ropes; within the curtains the people undressed, were baptized, and afterwards dressed again. Many of these were also used for baptism in the depth of winter, and the baths and tents were warmed by stoves.”—*R. H. B.* p. 116.

Century the Thirteenth.

IN the account of the eighth century it was noticed, that many thousands of the Spanish Unitarians, Baptists, and others, emigrated from the Spanish to the French side of the Pyrenean mountains, near which lay Guienne, Languedoc, Gascoyne, Thoulouse, Bearne Alby, Roussillon, and Narbonne, places remarkable in the darkest ages for harbouring Christians, called heretics by the Catholics.

And also that it was highly probable, that they and their descendants were the true original Waldenses, for to them and to them only do the descriptions in the books of the Inquisitors agree.

And here we may endeavour to give a more particular account of them.

They appear to have been called by several other names at different times and places, either on account of the names of

the places where they chiefly resided, as the Albigenses from the city of Alby, mentioned above, or from the names of some of the most eminent men who rose up among them at different periods ; as that of Berengarians Peter, Brusians, &c. or by names of reproach given them by their enemies, as Turpelins, because like wolves they sometimes inhabited unfrequented places to avoid persecution. But by whatever names they were called, the vallies in and about the Pyrenees, and on both sides were full of such Christians as the Catholics counted heretics.

The Jesuit Gutser, abating the catholicism of his language, gives a just account of them, when he says,—The Waldenses were collections of various sects of Manicheans, Arians, and others ; some did believe the doctrines of the church, but did not embrace the worship, or the discipline : others renounced the whole. In plain style they were Christians in different degrees of religious improvement.—*R. E. R. p. 303.*

They were of all manner of sentiments.

In regard to the great leading points, the most were Unitarians, but many held the same opinions as the church of Rome did, consequently the doctrine of the trinity, so the Inquisitor says. The truth is, they placed religion in piety and virtue, and left speculation uncontrouled and free.—*R. E. R. p. 316.*

They seem to be considered as the predecessors of the European baptists, by those eminent pedo-baptist authors who were best acquainted with their history :—thus

Limborch.—“ If the doctrines and rites of the Waldenses be well examined without prejudice, it must; I think, be said, that among all the denominations of Christians, which there are at this day, none have a greater agreement with them, than that which is called Mennonists.”—*Hist. Inquisit. cap. viii. p. 32.* That is the Dutch Baptists.

Venema.—“ The nearest origin of the Mennonists, in my judgment, is better derived from the Waldenses; and from them also that of the Anabaptists.”—*Hist. Eccles. tom. vii. p. 443.*

And as to their antiquity, Cardinal Hosius asserted, that the sect of the Anabaptists, of which kind says he, the Waldensian brethren seem to have been, was not a modern heresy, for it existed in the time of Austin.—*Apud. Schyn. Hist. Mennonit, p. 135.* Reiner of Saccho, who deserted them, turned preaching friar, informer and inquisitor, among other things declared that some affirmed their faith and practice was as ancient as church establishments : they said the truth, but the monk did not know their history.—*R. E. R. p. 299.*

It is not clear that the ancient Waldenses had any clergy. It is certain they practised no coercion, and their opponents affirm, that they thought none ought to be exercised ; they held priesthood in abhorrence : they allowed women to teach, and laughed at the distinction between clergy and laity. Reiner describes the manner in which they insinuated their principles into the gentry.—“ Sir, will you please to buy any rings or seals, or trinkets.—Madam, will you look at any handkerchiefs or pieces of needle work for veils. I can afford them cheap.” If after

If after a purchase, the company ask—
 “Have you any thing more?”—the salesman would reply,—“O yes, I have commodities far more valuable than these, and I will make you a present of them if you will protect me from the clergy.” Security being promised, on he would go. “The inestimable jewel I spoke of, is the word of God, by which he communicates his mind to men, and which inflames their hearts with love to him.”—Then he would repeat some part of the gospels, and if the company should seem pleased, he would proceed to repeat the twenty-third of Matthew.—“*The Scribes and Pharisees sit in Moses seat—Woe unto you, ye shut up the kingdom of heaven against men: for ye neither go in yourselves, neither suffer ye them that are entering to go in—Woe unto you, ye devour widows houses.*” “And pray,” should one of the company say,—“against whom are these woes denounced, think you?” He would reply, “Against the clergy and the monks.” The doctors of the Roman church are pompous both in their habits and their manners. “*They love the uppermost rooms, and the*

chief seats in the synagogues, and to be called *Rabbi, Rabbi.*" For our parts, we desire no such rabbis. They are incontinent—we live each in chastity with his own wife. They are the rich and avaricious, of whom the Lord says—“ *Woe unto you rich, for ye have received your consolation ;*” but we, “ *having food and raiment are therewith content.*”—They are voluptuous, and devour widows houses ; we only eat to be refreshed and supported. They fight and encourage war, and command the poor to be killed and burnt, in defiance of the saying—“ *he that taketh the sword shall perish by the sword.*” For our parts, they persecute us for righteousness sake. They do nothing ; they eat the bread of idleness ; we work with our hands. They monopolize the giving of instruction and “ *woe be to them that take away the key of knowledge.*”—But among us, women teach as well as men ; and one disciple as soon as he is informed himself, teaches another. Among them you can hardly find a doctor who can repeat three chapters of the New Testament by heart ; but of us there is hardly man or woman who doth not retain

the whole. And because we are sincere believers in Christ, and all teach and enforce a holy life and conversation, these scribes and pharisees persecute us to death, as their predecessor did Jesus Christ. Father Gretzer, the first editor of the complete book of Reiner, hath put in the margin against the above, these words :—“ This is a true picture of the heretics of our age, particularly Anabaptists.” Happy for the Anabaptists indeed if they can affirm all that with truth of themselves which the old Waldensian preaching pedlar affirmed of himself and his company.—*R. E. R. p. 314, 315.*

Izam, a dominican persecutor of these heretics complained, that although the prayers of the priest, and the sign of the cross absolved the child, when it came out of the water, from every sin, yet these heretics, perjured liars, admitted another baptism.—*R. E. R. p. 463.*

And Ermingendus brings the like charge against them in his book *Contra Waldenses*. In which he endeavours to prove the baptism of infants from these passages : *Suffer*

little children to come unto me, &c. And from the words of the Apostle, *baptized for the dead.*—Bib. Pat. tom. 4.

Everinus, in a letter to St. Bernard, written before the year 1146, speaks of a sect which approved of adult baptism upon believing, and opposed infant baptism. He says, “ They make void the priesthood of the church, and condemn the sacraments besides, baptism only, and this only in those who were come to age.”—*Dr. Allix, p. 143.*

St. Bernard, about the same time writing upon the canticles in his 65th and 66th sermons, takes notice of a sort of people, he calls Apostolici, who, he says, laugh at us for baptizing infants.—*Iverney's Hist. Bap. p. 20.*

Dr. Allix gives us an extract taken by Claudius Cassord, in the year 1548, out of an old manuscript of Rainerus, a friar, wrote by him 296 years before, against the Waldenses, wherein he has these words:—
“ They say, that when a man is baptized, then he is received into this *sect*; some of them hold, that baptism is of no advan-

tage to infants, because they cannot actually believe.”—*p.* 188, 191.

Eckburtus, in his sermon against the Cathari or Waldenses, saith, “ That they say, concerning the baptism of children, that through their incapacity, it nothing profiteth them to salvation; and that baptism ought to be deferred till they came to years of discretion; and that then only those ought to be baptized who desire it, and make a profession of faith. Which he endeavours to confute in that sermon.—*Bib. Pat. tom. ii. fol. 99. 106.*

And it is a well-known fact, that Peter Bruis, a very eminent man among the Waldenses, maintained and taught,—that infants are neither to be saved nor baptized by the faith of another, all being to be baptized, and expect to be saved by their own proper faith.—*Magd. Cent. xii. p. 843.*

Favin, in his history of Navarre, says—that the Albigois, do esteem the baptizing of infants, superstitious.—*p.* 290.

Chassanion, in his history of the Albigois, has these words:—“ Some writers have affirmed, that the Albigois approved

not of the baptism of infants ; others that they entirely slighted this holy sacrament, as if it was of no use either to great or small. The same has been said of the Vaudois, though some affirm, that they have always baptized their children ; this difference of authors kept me for some time in suspence, before I could be resolved on which side the truth lay. At last considering what St. Bernard says of this matter, in his 66th Homily, on the second chapter of the Song of Songs, and the reasons he brings to refute this error, and also that he wrote *Ad Hildefonsum Comitem Sancti Egidii*, I cannot but think that the Albigois for the greatest part, were of that opinion ; and that which confirms me yet more in the belief of it, is, that in the history of the city of Treves, which I have mentioned before, at the end of the 4th chapter, it is said,—that at Ivoj, in the diocese of Treves, there were some who denied that the sacrament of baptism was available to the salvation of infants. And one Catharine Saube, who was burnt at Montpellier, in the year 1417, for being of the mind of the Albigois, in not believing the tradi-

tions of the Romish church, had the same thoughts concerning infant baptism, as it is recorded in the register of the town house of the said city of Montpellier, of which we shall speak at the end of the fourth book. The truth is, they did not reject this sacrament, or say it was useless, but only counted it unnecessary to infants, because they are not of age to believe, or capable of giving evidence of their faith. That which induced them (as I suppose) to entertain this opinion, is what Our Lord says, that,—*He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved ; but he that believeth not shall be damned.*

“ Thus, this historian who was a pedobaptist, and who says, he collected his history from two ancient manuscripts ; one of which was written in the Languedoc tongue, and the other in old French, declares himself convinced, that the greatest part of the Albigois, were against infant baptism.”—*Stennett against Russen, p. 81, 82, 83.*

Limborch informs us that Peter Auterius, an eminent minister among the Albigenses, was accused and condemned by the court of inquisition, for saying, among other things,

“that water baptism performed by the church, is of no use to children, because they do not consent; nay they weep.”—*Hist. Inquisit. l. i. c. viii. p. 31.*

Certain it is, that the generality, if not all the writers of those early times, say,—that the Waldenses and Albigenses were Anabaptists, and several of the canons of the councils, and the decrees of the popes to suppress them, which confirm the same, have been mentioned before.

The orthodox positively affirm, “they were not guilty of manichæism, and other abominable heresies.”—“Yes, (replies the learned Limborch, than whom, no man knew their history better,) they were many of them Manicheans:—it is not fair, (adds he) to deny a fact, which is as clear as noon day.” “They scent a little, (says the celebrated Trancowitz) of Anabaptism, but they were nothing like the Anabaptists of our times.” “Yes, (replies Limborch) to say honestly what I think, of all the modern sects of Christians, the Dutch baptists most resemble both the Albigenses and the Waldenses, but particularly the latter.”

Historians, who affirm they wrote from ancient and authentic records, expressly declare, that the Catholics thought they were all Arians, and therefore they divided their army into three parts, in honour of the trinity, before they attacked them.—*R. E. R. p. 311, 316, 318.*

The attack so disgraceful to the Catholics, was effected by the malice, influence, and power of Pope Innocent III. About the beginning of this century, he writes his decretal epistle to the bishop of Arles, (the principal city in Provence), respecting the Albigensian sect, to which Baronius in his annals, writes this preamble ; and which is also expressed by Spondanus, in his epitome 981, 1199, viz. Among the Arlatenses were heretics who excluded infants from baptism, counting them incapable of that heavenly privilege. Therefore did Innocent write this excellent epistle to the archbishop of Arles, to confute and confound them ; which he recites at large, as it is also found both in Gratian, and the book of decretals.

After the epistle, Baronius adds, this Innocent wrote in a time of great emergency

concerning the sacrament of baptism, which the poor people of Lyons, those Albigensian Anabaptists did deny.

The Waldenses and Albigenses had been condemned and anathematized for denying baptism to infants by several Popes before : now upon these considerations, and from this Pope's epistle, and the comments upon it, does it not appear, that one great cause of the cruel persecutions commenced against them, was on account of their being what their enemies called Anabaptists.

After the epistle the Pope sent a great number of friars, to go up and down those countries, to preach and dispute amongst them ; then legates, and after them inquisitors upon inquisitors, to make havock, burn and destroy the people of God without mercy. And when all this availed not, he proclaimed a bloody crusade against them, with a determination, if possible, to exterminate the whole race. The effects and consequences of which are thus concisely described by Goadby.

“ In the thirteenth century, the Waldenses and Albigenses had spread and prevailed

so far, and were prevailing still farther, that the pope thought it necessary to exert his utmost efforts to suppress them. For this purpose, the first crusade was proclaimed, of Christians against Christians, and the office of inquisition was first erected ; the one to subdue their bodies, the other to enslave their souls. It is enough to make the blood run cold, to read of the horrid murders and devastations of this time ; how many poor innocent Christians were sacrificed to the blind fury and malice of their enemies. It is computed, that in France alone, were slain five hundred thousand : And what was the consequence of these shocking barbarities. No writer can better inform us than the wise and moderate historian Thuanus. “ Against the Waldenses, saith he, when exquisite punishments availed little, and the evil was exasperated by the remedy, which had been unseasonably applied, and their number increased daily, complete armies were at length raised, and a war of no less weight than what our people had waged against the Saracens was decreed against them ; the event of which was, that

that they were rather slain, put to flight, and spoiled every where of their goods and dignities, and dispersed here and there, than that convinced of their error they repented. So that they who at first had defended themselves by arms, at last overcome by arms, fled into Provence and the neighbouring Alps of the French territory, and found a shelter for their life and doctrine in those places. Part withdrew into Calabria, and continued there a long while even to the pontificate of Pius the IVth ; part passed into Germany, and fixed their abode among the Bohemians, and in Poland and Livonia, others turning to the west, obtained refuge in Britain.—*Goadby on Rev.* xi.

P. Perin, in his history, says much the same. The following is a brief sketch of it : —The popes stirred up kings and princes to raise armies and root up the whole people, and by fire and sword to lay waste their cities and country, which they did with great devastation, especially in Provence, Dauphine and Languedoc. First, they were excommunicated and anathematized, or accursed by the pope ; then they were con-

fiscated, imprisoned, tortured, publicly disgraced, shewn upon scaffolds, wearing mitres in derision, spit upon, their ears cut off, their flesh plucked off with pincers, drawn with horses, dragged up and down, broiled, roasted, stoned to death, burnt, drowned, and beheaded. Vast numbers were slain with the sword, and a great many fled into other countries, in several of which they met with a measure of the same spirit of persecution ; they were fugitives, injured, reproached, forsaken, despised, abandoned, and many hundreds put to death : but God carried them through wonderfully, so that they could rejoice and glory in their tribulations, that they were accounted worthy to suffer for Christ's sake ; choosing rather to suffer affliction with the people of God, than to enjoy the pleasures of sin for a season ; esteeming reproach for Christ the greatest riches, because they had respect to the recompence of reward.

Danvers at the close of his history of christianity amongst the ancient Waldenses, says,—“ This was the *people* that bore so great a witness for *believers*’, and so firmly

opposed *infants' baptism* ; as by so many arguments in the *seventh chapter* is made good to you."—*Treat. on Bap.* p. 539.

Another writer says,—“ They underwent the most dreadful persecutions, and every means which malice and cruelty could invent, was used to exterminate them and their principles from the earth. The crusade against them consisted of five hundred thousand men; more than three hundred gentlemen's seats were razed, and many walled towns destroyed.”—*Iverney's Hist. Bap.* p. 55.

Thus it was, that these orthodox professors, who divided their army into three parts in honour of the trinity, attacked and destroyed them ; wherever they came, nothing was to be seen but flight and slaughter, burning and devastation. The land was as the garden of Eden before them, and behind them a desolate wilderness ; and for no other reason than this—because they would not subject their consciences to the creeds and decrees of the popes, whose insatiable thirst for dominion over conscience, could be satisfied with nothing short of that or the de-

struction of their bodies. Death or submission was the law of the popes, while the Mohammedans granted a safe asylum to all who could flee into Spain : there they enjoyed the liberty denied them by the Catholics, assistance and comfort from Christians of their own class.

The revelator describes the dragon as being wroth with the woman, and as making war with the remnant of her seed, who kept the commandments of God, and the testimony of Jesus Christ.—*Rev. xii. 17.* Mr. Henry, on this passage, says,—“ Some think, hereby are meant the Albigenses, that were first, by Dioclesian, driven up into barren and mountainous places, and afterwards cruelly murdered by popish rage and power, for several generations ; and for no other reason, but because they *kept the commandments of God, and held the testimony of Jesus Christ.*”

Yes, even the catholics bear their testimony to the moral character and piety of these people. Claudius, archbishop of Turin, in his treatise against the Waldenses, gives this testimony of them,—“ That as

touching their lives and manners, they have been always sound and unreprouable, without reproach or scandal amongst men, giving themselves to their power, to the observation of the commandments of God.”—

Perin's Hist. p. 40.

Cardinal Baronius attributeth to the Waldenses of Thoulouse, the title of good men, and says, they were a peaceable people.—*Tom. xii.—Anno 1176 p. 835.*

Bernard de Girard, Lord of Haillon, in his history of France, lib. x. says, “The Waldenses have been charged with wicked things they were not guilty of, because they stirred the popes and great men of the world to hate them for the liberty of their speech, which they used in condemning the vices and dissolute behaviour of princes and ecclesiastical persons.

In 1210, the Paterines had become so numerous, and so odious, for Paterine was become a common name for all sorts of persons ill affected to the church, that Huge, the old bishop of Ferrara, obtained an edict of the Emperor Otho the IVth. for the suppression of them; but this extended

only to the city of Ferrara. Five years after, Pope Innocent III. held a council at the Lateran, and denounced anathemas against heretics of all descriptions ; and against the lords and their bailiffs who suffered them to reside on their estates. The canons complain of the Greeks for re-baptizing the Catholics, and declare that baptism was efficacious to little ones as well as adults. And 1220, Pope Honorus III. procured an edict of Frederick II. the day of his coronation, and this extended over all the imperial cities. Thirteen years after, a stone was placed in a square of Milan, with an inscription on it to the honour of Oldrad, the governor of the city, for doing his duty by burning the Gazzari; the bloody office, however, was generally performed by the inquisitors, who made it the sole business of life (to use the language of Jesus Christ), to steal, to kill, and to destroy. But it would be miserable to attend the courts and the executions of these merciless men.—*R. E. R. p. 413.*

But it does appear that the imperial civil magistrates were slower to punish heresy than

the priests were. For in twelve hundred and fifty-nine, the Paterine church of Alba consisted of about five hundred members; that of Conrezzo of more than fifteen hundred; and that at Bagnole about two hundred. And in various parts, this one party, the Paterines, had four thousand members of churches; so Reiner Sacco, the inquisitor says; and he adds, this number was on their own lists.—*R. E. R. p.* 418, 455.

And Wilhelmina, a zealous Bohemian female, who settled at Milan, taught and baptized with great success, died in peace, anno 1281, and was buried at Milan in the church of St. Peter ad Hortum, when not her followers, as Mosheim says, but the ignorant catholics, having known the holiness of her life, said their prayers at her tomb. Her followers were accounted heretics, and in the year 1300, the inquisitors discovered, and commenced the usual process against them.—*R. E. R. p.* 413.

Century the Fourteenth.

IT was shewn before from Thuanus, that the Waldenses and Albigenses fled for refuge into foreign nations ; some to Piedmont and the Alps, some into Germany, some into Britain. In Germany they grew and multiplied so fast, notwithstanding the rage and violence of crusaders and inquisitors, that at the beginning of this century, it was computed that there were eighty thousand of them in Bohemia and Austria, and the neighbouring territories. And they pertinaciously defended their doctrines even unto death. Among a variety of names they were called Lollards, from one Walter Lollard, who preached in Germany, about the year 1315, against the authority of the pope, the intercession of saints, the mass, extreme unction, and other ceremonies and superstition of the church of Rome, and

was burned alive at Cologne in the year 1322. In England, also, they were denominated Lollards, though there was a man more worthy to have given name to the sect, the deservedly famous John Wickliffe, the honour of his own and the admiration of all succeeding times, rector only of Lutterworth, he filled England, and almost all Europe with his doctrine. He began to grow famous about the year 1360, by preaching and writing against the superstition of the age, the tyranny of the pope, the erroneous doctrines and vicious lives of the monks and clergy ; and that he maintained the principles of the Waldenses, and Albigenses, respecting the sufficiency of scripture and baptism, the following extracts sufficiently shew.

First.—He asserted and maintained two sacraments only, viz. Baptism and the Lord's Supper, in opposition to the popish seven, as appears by the 45, 46, and 49 articles condemned by the council of Constance.—*James Apol. p. 31.*

Second.—That he taught that believers after the example of Christ, should be bap-

tized in pure water.—*Flac Illyricus Catal. Test. p. 453.* And how he esteemed the same, he further saith, that it was not lawful for believers, though they had received the baptism of the spirit, to omit the baptism of water, but that as opportunity and circumstances might concur, it was necessary to receive it.—*See his Trialog. iv. c. xii.*

Third—That believers are the only subjects of baptism, as appears in his 11th chap. of his Trialog. when he saith, that persons are first to be baptized with what he calls the first or insensible baptism, viz. with the blood of Christ, before they are baptized in water, without which their baptism in water profits not; and therefore, so positive for faith and regeneration to be first laid, that in his book *De Veritate Scripture* p. 490, he saith, that for any to bring wicked or unregenerate persons into the church, they do wed Christ and the devil together, taking the members of an harlot, coupling them to the body of Christ.—*James Apol. p. 15.*

Fourth—That baptism doth not confer, but only signifies (or is a symbol of) grace

given. So Fuller out of Chocleus, in his *Eccle. Hist.* upon the life and doctrine of Wickliffe.

Fifth—That they are fools and presumptuous which affirm such infants not to be saved which die without baptism. So Fuller words it out of Chocleus, and Wickliffe's own words as *c. ii. De Trialog.*

Sixth—That all truth is contained in the holy scriptures, and that which is not originally there, is to be accounted prophane.—*L. D. Verit. scrip. p. 39.* 'That Christ's law sufficeth by itself to rule Christ's church—*Exposit. Decalog. p. 5.* And again, that we must receive nothing but what is in the scripture, and that whatever is added to it or taken from it is blasphemous ; and that no rite or ceremony ought to be received in the church, but that which is plainly confirmed by God's word.—*De Verit. scrip. p. 581.* And therefore saith, wise men leave that as impertinent, which is not plainly expressed.—*Fuller out of Chocleus.* And further, that we are to admit of no science or conclusion that is not proved by scripture testimony, and that whoever holds

the contrary opinion, cannot be a Christian, but flatly the devil's champion.—*De Verit. Scrip.* p. 128.

These particulars prove, beyond all reasonable contradiction, that Wickliffe was against the baptism of infants ; for certainly that is not a scripture institution, as Pedobaptists allow. And that he was an advocate for believers baptism, so plainly instituted in the scripture, and practiced by Christ and his apostles.

And we have the testimony of authors of great note and learning, who have left it upon record, that Wickliffe dissented from the church of Rome, on the point of baptism as well as on other doctrines.

“ Thomas Walden and Joseph Vicecomes, who had access to his writings, have charged him with denying Pedobaptism, and they brought their charge at a time when it might have been easily contradicted, if it had not been true.”—*Iverney's Hist. Bap.* p. 72.

Walden also says, that this was the Albigensian heresy, who denied baptism to little

ones, as Wickliffe and the Lollard's do now.
—*De Baptisma Sacra. tit. v. c. liii. fol. 118.*

Walsingham says, that in this time it was, that that most damnable heretic, John Wickliffe, reassumed the cursed opinions of Berengarius, which was as you have heard, to deny infant baptism, transubstantiation, &c.—*Ypodigma Nustria, upon the year 1381, p. 139.*

Dr. Hurd, in his *History of all Religions*, says “ it is pretty clear from the writings of many learned men, that Dr. John Wickliffe, the first English reformer, either considered infant baptism unlawful, or at best not necessary.”

The author of a *History of Religion*, published in London in 1764, in four volumes, octavo, says, “ It is clear from many authors, that Wickliffe rejected infant baptism, and that on this doctrine his followers agreed with the modern Baptists.”

Wickliffe vehemently attacked confirmation, which was ordained together with infant baptism, and especially calculated for the ratification thereof; concerning which he says, that as there is not the least syllable

from the word of God, so not the least colour from reason for the same.—*Triang.* iv. c. 15.

This great man died peaceably at Lutterworth, Dec. 31, 1384 ; by the command of the pope, his bones were taken up out of the grave and burnt, and his ashes cast into a brook, in 1428.

Rapin says, that “ in the year 1389, the Wickliffites or Lollards, began to separate from the church of Rome, and appoint priests from among themselves, to perform divine service after their way. Though some were from time to time persecuted by the bishops, yet their persecutions were not rigorous.”—*Hist. England*, vol. i.

Mr. Robert Robinson, a baptist minister at Chesterton, near Cambridge, says, “ I have before me a manuscript of Gray, bishop of Ely, which proves that in the year 1487, there was a congregation of this sort, in the village of Chesterton, where I now live ; who privately assembled for divine worship, and had preachers of their own, who taught them the very doctrines we now preach.”—*Dissertation prefixed to Claude's Essay*.

When the Lollards were persecuted, there were several articles that the inquisitors were to examine the suspected upon, and amongst the rest this,—WHETHER AN INFANT DYING UNBAPTIZED CAN BE SAVED?—which the Lollards believed and asserted, for Walsingham tells us, that one Sir L. Clifford, an apostate Lollard, did discover to to the Archbishop of Canterbury, that the Lollards would not baptize their new born children.—*Danvers*, p. 303.

Hall in his Encyclopedia on the article Baptists, observes, they bore a considerable share in the persecutions of the east, and of the preceding centuries, and as it should seem in those of some centuries before, for there were several among the Lollards, and the followers of Wickliffe, who disapproved of infant baptism.

And the partiality of John Fox, the martyrologist, ought not to be passed over unnoticed, for of the forty-five errors charged on Wickliffe, he omits those which opposed the common practice of infant baptism, and gives us only forty-two; and this appears to have been his usual way.

Carolus, bishop of Meyland, did exhort the ministers under his charge, that first they should teach in the faith, and that only upon confession of faith, and a good conversation, they should administer baptism.—*Merning, p. 740. Vicecom. l. v. c. xlv.*

At Crema, in Austria, in the bishopric of Passau, many of the Waldenses were burnt for opposing infant baptism, anno 1315.—*Toithem. Cron. Anno 1315, p. 211. Hen. Boch. fol. 27.*

A pious woman, named Peronne, of Aubiton, in Flanders, was burnt for opposing infant baptism, anno 1373.—*Dutch Martyrol. part ii. fol. 497.*

Paul Stransky, *de Republica Bohemorum, p. 272*, (as quoted by David Cranz in his *History of the United Brethren*, translated by La Trobe, p. 16.) says, “the Waldenses, in 1176, arrived in Bohemia, and settled at Satz and Laun, on the river Egër.” This is confirmed by other Bohemian historians, “and many affirm, that there was a set of Arian vagrants there long before, who had fled from Mesopotamia, from the Athanasian persecution, and who were joined by

others, fleeing from persecution in successive ages, from all parts of Europe. On this account, most Bohemian catholic historians, call their country a sink of heresy, and Prague the metropolis, a common and safe asylum for all sorts of heretics."—*R. E. R. p. 5.*

Now, as authentic records in France assure us, that such a people were driven from thence in the twelfth century, and as both these classes are mentioned by Bohemian historians, as resident therein, this fourteenth, it may not be amiss to inquire on what account these Waldensians were driven there, and how it was, that Bohemia afforded, for so many ages, an asylum for the persecuted Christians.

Archbishop Usher, in his *Succession of the Church*, p. 292, tells us out of *Decretal*, l. v. tit. vi. c. x.—That Pope Alexander the third, in the Turonensian Synod, held in 1163, touching the Albigenses, made the following canon.

To damn that heresy that had so infected as a canker, all those parts about Gascoyne, requiring the clergy of every sort, to give

their utmost diligence to detect and suppress it, and to require all upon penalty of excommunication, not only to refuse harbouring of them, but to avoid all civil communion and converse with them, and if taken by any catholic princes, that they be imprisoned, and their goods and estates confiscated.

And inasmuch as multitudes, under pretence of sojourning together in one mansion house, (which was very much the custom of the Waldenses to do), do under that colour, carry on their errors in such co-habitations, that all such conventicles should diligently be searched out, and if found, to be proceeded with by canonical severity.

And in the year 1176, Pope Alexander called another Gallican council, to convince and condemn the Albigensian heresy.

In the third canon whereof they say, they do convince and judge them of heresy, for denying baptism to children, or that they are to be saved thereby, urging arguments from Christ's dying for all, and from the circumcising of infants of old, for their baptizing, and affirming, that the faith of the

gossips is sufficient to baptize upon, &c. which may be seen at large in the book of Decretals.

And further, the bishop tells us, out of Hovenden's Annals, fol. 139, that the said Pope Alexander III. did, in the year 1176, the better to extirpate the Albigenses, send a cardinal and three bishops, as commissioned inquisitors against them, and others, under the names of Credenles, Lyonists, Patrinos, Bonhomes or Manichees, with a creed to put to them for the better discovering of them, in which these following are some of the articles. We believe we cannot be saved except we eat the body of Christ, which is not so, except consecrated in a church by a priest. We believe that none are saved, except they are baptized; and that children are saved by baptism, and that baptism is to be performed by a priest, in the church.

From hence we may learn, it was by the persecutions stirred up against them, that they were driven from France. The description given of them as sojourning in numbers together in one mansion house, is such,

that this class of people cannot well be mistaken, as it corresponds with the accounts we have of them in Bohemia, as will be shewn hereafter.

It may be deemed mercy in the King of France, Lewis VII. to permit these people to depart, when compared with the cruelty of his successors ; for Phillip Augustus, who began his reign in 1180, caused 600 of their Albigensian brethren to be burnt in one day.—*Memoirs of the Persecutions of Protestants in France, by John Martin, p. 15.* And his son, Lewis, afterward Lewis VIII. engaged in that formidable crusade and terrible massacre of the Waldenses and Albigenses, in which hundreds of thousands perished. Thus it was, that persecution and cruelty increased, in proportion to the increased influence of the popes, over the despotical tyrants of the earth.

It is an unquestionable fact, that when these people fled from France, a great part of Bohemia, Hungary, Muscovy, Moravia and other places thereabout, was a vast desert of forests, marshes, mountains, and immense tracts not ascertained, and partly uninha-

bited. A little before the time of Jesus Christ, Cesar described the Hercynian forest thus:—"It is nine days journey over—It begins on the confines of the Helvetii—it runs through an infinite number of countries, none could ever yet come to the end of it, or know its utmost extent, though some have gone sixty days journey in it." In process of time, part of the Hercynian forest was grubbed up, and inhabited by different nations. The Black forest, and the forest of Bohemia, were formerly parts of the Hercynian. It is needless to prove, that the skirts of this forest were inhabited by different classes of people, different from each other in manners custom and language.

Let us observe next, that the people of whom we are now in search (or the original Waldenses who fled there before their brethren, referred to by Thuanus) were fitted, by their own avowed principles, to inhabit such places. They aimed at no honours,—they coveted neither wealth nor fame—they held all things common—they despised the literature of the pagan and papal

schools—they placed religion in virtue more than in faith—they thought every man competent to understand the New Testament, and their public worship with the administration of baptism and the Lord's Supper, exactly resembled that of the very respectable body of Christians among us, whom the lower sort of people in derision, call Quakers. Let it not seem romantic, if we suppose that the Waldenses, who we know studied the Revelation of John, thought themselves directed to retire by God himself, to sequestered places, for by the New Testament prophet, he had said,—*The woman fled into the wilderness, where she hath a place prepared of God, that they should feed her there a thousand two hundred and threescore days.*—R. E. R. p. 509, 510.

Further, it is clear by the statutes of an ancient king of Bohemia, Charles IV. that Christian fugitives did certainly reside about the borders of this kingdom. Probably they did, as all men in such circumstances would do, shift their quarters to suit their convenience, according to prospects of safety or danger. Several of the Caro-

line laws, the magna charta of Bohemia, are for the regulation and preservation of the forests. In these statutes, the king thought fit to allow the borderers to burn the dead wood of the forest, and to direct that heretics, who, he had been informed, had fled from other countries, and dwelt near the borders of his kingdom, and who denied the doctrine of the trinity, should be in the sight of all the orthodox, committed to the flames. It is doubtful whether the barons, or the woodwards on the borderers understood statute law, or whether they could have read this statute had they seen it, and it is very credible that nobody minded it, for a reason we shall presently give. What a contrast does history present to our view ; the pious and orthodox Charles, whose first article in his statutes is a declaration of his faith in a triune God, the Virgin Mary, and the Catholic church, in the next article but one condemns Christians to the flames ; while John Basilowitz, one of the most bloody tyrants that ever existed, who punished Jews only, because he could not trust them, allowed all the subjects of his

vast empire, liberty of conscience. It was wise advice which Jesus gave his disciples, *when they persecute in one city flee to another*, for tyrants are seldom all disposed to be cruel at a time. Such despots as Basilewicz always governed some of these contiguous kingdoms, and the advice of Jesus was always practicable."

It was said before a reason would be given, why the law of Charles for burning heretics was not regarded. We have an authentic document to prove, that the governors of cities both secular and sacred, made no scruple of employing the Jews to promise heretics security of their liberties and properties, on condition of their paying a certain sum. Many embraced those offers, and paid what the Jewish factors demanded ; and such as could not raise the money were expelled. The Jews knew no heretics but bankrupts.

Such was the situation of these fugitive Christian labourers and manufacturers, who chiefly resided in and about solitary places, and who have been since reproached for what was their highest honour, and called

wandering Anabaptists. *R. E. R.* p. 509, 510, 511, 512, 513.

A further account of them and their expulsion from Moravia, by the Emperor Frederic, will be given in the succeeding centuries.

Centuries the Fifteenth and Sixteenth

THE fifteenth and sixteenth centuries are united, for the sake of giving at one view, the supplementary traces of the Baptists and heretics before mentioned, down to the full establishment of the reformation, or the grand schism from the church of Rome.

In the beginning of this period, John Huss, and Jerom of Prague, two zealous Bohemian ministers, preached the gospel with great success; and among other principles which they taught were the following:

The law of Jesus Christ is sufficient of itself for the government of the church militant.

The church is the mystical body of Christ, of which he is the head

They are not of the world, as Christ is not of the world.

The world hates them, because it hates

Christ; that is, the virtue and the truth of God.

Christians ought not to believe in the church.

All human traditions savour of folly.

A multitude of human doctrines and statutes is useless, and on many accounts pernicious.

No other law beside the rule of scripture, ought to be prescribed to good men.

The devil was the author of multiplying traditions in the church.

Deacons or elders, by the instinct of God, by the gospel of Jesus Christ, without any license from the pope, or a bishop, may preach and convert spiritual children.

Huss was condemned at the council of Constance, and burnt in the year fourteen hundred and fifteen; and the year following, Jerom shared the same fate. The men who composed this council, considered the article of the creed,—“*I believe in the holy catholic church,*”—as the foundation of all religion; and they thought, that a man who pretended to judge for himself, and professed to believe only what he himself was

convinced was true, was the most dangerous of all heretics. “It was reported, and it is extremely probable, that Jerom was baptized by immersion, by some of the Greek church.”

We do not say that these reformers followed their principles whither they led ; but we do contend, that some of their hearers reasoned consequently from them, and so became baptists.—*R. E. R. p. 482, 483, 514.*

And it appears, that another class of Baptists sprang up about the same time, who, afterwards are often mentioned by Bohemian historians under the name of Waldenses, or Pygherds ; which names it is likely were given them, from a certain refugee who settled here ; for in a letter written by Costelecious, out of Bohemia, to Erasmus, dated Oct. 10, 1519, among other things, said of them, which agree with the said people, this is one ; “such as come over to their sect, must every one be baptized anew, in mere water ;” the writer of the letter calls them Pygherds, so named, he says, from a certain refugee, who came

thither ninety-seven years before the date of of the letter, which was anno 1422.—*Dr. Gill's Div. Right of In. Bap. Disproved*, p. 10.

The greatest difference between these people, and the Moravian Baptists, was, in their not dwelling together in fraternities, but living dispersedly over Bohemia; and on this account it should seem, they were by some historians, ranked with the Bohemian Baptists.

The term Picard or Pygherd, or Begherd, is of very general meaning, applied in different ages, to people of very different descriptions; to the pious and to the profligate, to monks in the church of Rome, and to Vaudois who had departed from it; and which signified only an importunate beggar—*Mosheim's Eccles. Hist. vol. iii. cent. xiii. part. ii.*

Rokyzan, the archbishop of Prague, at first favoured the followers of Huss, but when many of them renounced infant baptism, and the ministers baptized them before they received them into the church; when they were called Waldenses, Picards, and

other opprobrious names, and became too numerous and too scandalous, for an archbishop in Rokyzan's situation to patronize, he was obliged to treat them with indifference, and keep them at a distance.

About the year 1457, George, Lord Podiebrad, was elected king; but the pope refused to acknowledge him, nor would he invest the archbishop, unless they took an oath to re-establish the old religion, and clear the kingdom of heresy. The king took the oath and was crowned. The archbishop first published a book against the Taborites, then silenced the answer, by imprisoning the authors. When a tide of threatenings came in from Rome, his ambition and fear excited him to use severity, and he proceeded to break up religious assemblies, and to commit the refractory preachers to prison. When reflection and early impressions returned, he visited the prisons and condoled with the sufferers, embraced and wept over his nephew who was one, and exclaimed,—“O! my Gregory, I wish to God I were as thou art.” In the end he became a confirmed persecutor,

and though he would not go so far as to burn heretics, yet by his great influence with the king, he procured their banishment and continued to persecute till his death.

But notwithstanding this, in various parts of Bohemia and Moravia, heretics obtained a settlement. Some had long ago lived in remote parts of the kingdom, about the forests and the mines. These were now multiplied by an accession of foreigners, and by converts of Huss and Jerom, who reasoning on the principles laid down by their teachers, entertained the same ideas of religion as the old Vaudois did. They were all indiscriminately called Waldenses and Picards, and they all re-baptized, but they were of very different sentiments; some held the divinity of Christ, others denied it, some believed more, others less, but they were all obliged to act with caution, for though they were generally connived at, yet they were not allowed to hold their assemblies publicly by law. New Prague was very friendly to them, and so were Boleslaus and Wilemi, and thence they were sometime called Wilemites and Boleslavians.

It should seem, these people were not in Ziska's army during the war; they do not seem to have borne arms at any time: they were always going and coming, some retiring from the cities, and others going there to reside. They do not seem to have had any regular ministers, but when they assembled together, they exercised their abilities alternately. The most teachers we hear of at a time in Prague, were four or five. When they were persecuted in Prague, they left the city and settled in Moravia, and in time that settlement became their chief residence, though a great number went into Austria, and other places. In France they were still persecuted, and Catharine Saube was burnt at Montpellier, in 1417, for opposing infant baptism, and other Catholic doctrines.

Maximilian after he became emperor, openly declared to Henry III. of France, as he passed through Vienna, that such princes as tyrannize over the consciences of men, attack the Supreme Being in the noblest part of his empire, and frequently lose the earth by concerning themselves

too much with celestial matters. He used to say of Huss, they very much injured that good man.

His physician, Erato, was one day riding with him in his carriage, when his imperial majesty, after much lamenting the contentions of mankind about religion, asked the doctor, what sect he thought came nearest to the simplicity of the apostles? Erato replied, "I verily think, the people called Picards." The emperor added "I think so to." During this reign every body enjoyed liberty of conscience, and when it was attacked, the effort came to nothing. A faction of Catholics at Prague, envying the happiness of the Picards, formed a cabal of senators, who sent the chancellor of Bohemia to Vienna, to entreat the emperor to empower them to restrain these heretics. By some means the chancellor succeeded, and set out for Prague with the instrument; but attempting to pass a bridge over the Danube, the bridge gave way, and he and his company fell into the river and were drowned. His corpse was taken up by

some fishermen, but the diploma was never found.

A letter describing the sentiments of Hussites, written from Bohemia to Erasmus, dated October 10, 1519, states as follows:—

“ They renounce all the rites and ceremonies of our church—they ridicule our doctrine and practices in both sacraments—they deny orders (the hierarchy) and elect officers from among the laity—they receive no other rule than the bible—they admit none into their community, till they be dipped in water or baptized—and they reckon one another without distinction of rank to be called brothers and sisters.”

—*Colomesius's Collection of Letters to Men of note.*

About the year 1520, Lewis Hetzer, a man of learning, wrote a book against the divinity of Christ, which was suppressed by Zuinglius. He published another against the use of images in churches; but his chief work was a translation of the four greater and the twelve lesser prophets, into the German language, which was printed at Worms, in the year 1527, in octavo, and

again in folio, at Augsburg, the year after.—Some say he was assisted in this work, by John Denckius, another member of the Baptist churches in Moravia. Hetzer was put to death at Constance, for denying the doctrine of the trinity ; but the Baptists continued to increase so much, that when disciples of Luther, went into Bohemia and Moravia, they complained, that between Baptists and Papists, they were very much straightened, though they grew up among them, like lilies among thorns.—*R. E. R.* p. 499, 500, 513, 517, 519, 521.

Jacob Merningus saith,—that “ he had in his hand, in the German tongue, a confession of faith of the Waldenses, in Bohemia, asserting, that in the beginning of Christianity, there was no baptizing of children ; and that their forefathers practiced no such thing.”—*Merningus' Hist of Bap. part ii, p. 738.*

The Waldenses and Albigenses, notwithstanding the dreadful persecutions carried on against them in the preceding centuries, were still very numerous in different countries ; and in the fifteenth and the early

part of the sixteenth century, great numbers suffered in Flanders, Germany, Holland, Switzerland, and France, and more lay concealed in almost every country in Europe, till after the commencement of the Reformation, when the Protestants became conversant with them ; and by their example, influence and arguments, the generality of the Waldenses and Albigenses deviated from their former principles and practice, by embracing many of the doctrines and formalities of the Protestants and Huguenots, while those who continued to maintain the principles and practice of their predecessors, were called by the Protestants, Anabaptists ; a title which the Catholics had, ages before, given unto them. Thus in process of time, their ancient name of Waldenses and Albigenses, were hidden and lost—in those of Protestants, Huguenots, and Anabaptists.—*Danver's Treat. on Eap. particularly*, p. 311 to 321.

When Ferdinand the Second intended the conquest of Bohemia, he paid a visit to our Lady of Loretto, and made a vow to extirpate heresy out of his dominions, on condi-

dition her Ladyship would give his army success. In his letters and orders to his generals, he bestowed the title of generalissimo, on the Blessed Virgin ; and the army and the cause, was represented as belonging to the mother of Almighty God.

When the country was conquered, it was thought proper to begin with that part of the Baptists, whose principles would not allow them to make any resistance, and who would remove at a word, without giving his majesty the trouble of putting them to death, who at this time resided in Moravia.

These people lived in forty-five divisions called colleges or fraternities, exactly as their ancestors had done before their banishment from France, four hundred and fifty years back : each of these fraternities consisted of many families, who held all things common.

It is extremely difficult, not to say impossible, to determine the number of inhabitants : Carafa, the jesuit, who was the immediate cause of their banishment mentions the least number, and he says, they consisted of more than twenty thousand.

Others say, each fraternity contained between some hundreds and a thousand, and thence it is inferred, that they were about forty thousand. Some of these houses carried on manufactories, others were factors and merchants, and others were employed in agriculture and the wine trade : all were busy, peaceable, and happy, under regulations of their own making, having none of that class of mankind among them, who live on the vices and follies of their fellow creatures. They were no burden to any body, on the contrary, they served and enriched the community : they founded liberty on independence, and independence on industry.

— It was not an easy matter to get rid of these baptists, the emperor's chaplains, who were privy counsellors, talked of heresy, but it was difficult to bring a charge against a people who had no public faith, and who never attacked any religion by publishing ereeds: they could not be charged with perjury, for they had never taken any oaths, and one of their maxims was,—
“ swear not at all.” Sedition could not be

pretended, for they never bore arms ; they could not be awed by one another, for they had no master ; they could not be bribed, for they had no necessitous gentry. Filled with that unsuspicious freedom which innocence inspires, they had not even one patron at the imperial court ; and their whole expectation was placed on the superintending providence of God. Prince Lichtenstein, on whose domain they lived, and to whom they paid rent, and many other noblemen, endeavoured to save these people on account of the benefits they derived from them : so that the jesuit who effected their banishment, might well compliment himself for surmounting these seemingly insuperable difficulties. “ When I thought, (says he) of proscribing the Anabaptists of Moravia, I well knew it was an arduous undertaking ; however, by the help of God, I surmounted many obstacles, and obtained an edict for their banishment ; it was against the consent of some princes and governors, who had a worldly interest in supporting these profitable rascals.”

Comenius says, this cruel act was coloured

with a pretence, that King Frederick, when he passed through Moravia, visited these people, and was hospitably entertained by them. It might be reported so at the time, but this was not mentioned in the edict ; the truth is, government stood in no fear of these people, and they were banished first only, by way of trial. It was intended to rid all the emperor's dominions of all denominations except Catholics, who as they were nursed in ignorance, and habituated to an implicit confidence in their priests, are the only subjects fit for despotical governments. But the Lutherans and Calvinists were numerous, and powerfully protected by protestant princes in the empire, and it was not time to provoke them ; but the expulsion of Anabaptists would offend nobody, for all protestant princes had been taught by their priests to do them the same honour.

Ferdinand wrote first to prince Lichtenstein and Cardinal Dietrichstein ; the first, general of the army in Moravia, and the last governor of the province, to inform them of his design, and to require their concurrence on pain of his displeasure. Then

follows the edict, in which his majesty expresses his astonishment at the number of the Anabaptists, and his horror at the principal error they had embraced, which was, that according to the express declaration of holy scripture, they were to submit to no human authority—(he should have said in matters of conscience.) He adds, that his conscience compels him to proscribe them, and accordingly he did banish them, both natives and foreigners, from all his hereditary and imperial dominions, on pain of death.

The jesuits contrived to publish this edict just before harvest and vintage came on, for two reasons ; first, that the neighbouring gentry would be absent ; and next, that the people might not carry off the produce of the present year. They allowed them only three weeks and three days for their departure, and it was death to be found even on the borders of the country, beyond the expiration of the hour.

It was autumn, the prospect and the pride of husbandmen. Heaven had smiled on their honest labours, their fields stood

thick with corn, and the sun and the dew were improving every moment to give them the last polish. The yellow ears waved homage to their owners, and the wind whistling through the stems and the russet herbage, softly said, *put in the sickle the harvest is come*. The luxuriant vine leaves too, hung aloft by tendrils mantling over the clustring grapes, like watchful parents over their offspring. But all was fenced by an imperial edict, and it was instant death to approach. Without leaving one murmur upon record, in solemn silent submission to that power who governs the universe, and causes all things to work together for the good of his creatures, they packed up and departed. In several hundred carriages they conveyed their sick, their innocent infants sucking at the breasts of their mothers, who had newly laid-in—and their decrepid parents, whose work was done, and whose silvery locks told every beholder, that they wanted only the favour of the grave. At the borders they filed off, some to Hungary, others to Transylvania; some to Wallachia, others to Poland, &c. greater,

far greater for their virtue, than Ferdinand for all his titles, and for all his glory.

To recapitulate the histories of these Baptists, authentic records in France assure us, that a people of certain description were driven from thence in the twelfth century. Bohemian records of equal authenticity inform us, that some of the same description arrived in Bohemia at the same time, and settled near a hundred miles from Prague, at Satz and Laun, on the river Eger, just on the borders of the kingdom. Almost two hundred years after, another undoubted record of the same country, mentions a people of the same description, some as burnt at Prague, and others as inhabiting the borders of the kingdom. And one hundred and fifty years after, we find a people of the same description, settled by connivance in the metropolis, and in several other parts of the kingdom. About one hundred and twenty years lower, we find a people in the same country, living under the protection of law, on the estate of prince Lichtenstein, exactly like all the former, and about thirty or forty thousand in number. The

religious character of this people is so very different from that of all others, that the likeness is not easily mistaken: they had no priests, but taught one another; they had no private property, for they held all things jointly; they executed no offices, and neither exacted nor took oaths; they bore no arms, and rather chose to suffer than to resist wrong; they held every thing called religion in the church of Rome in abhorrence, and worshipped God only, by adoring his perfections, and endeavouring to imitate his goodness. They thought Christianity wanted no comment, and they professed the belief of that by being baptized; and their love to Christ and one another, by receiving the Lord's Supper. They aspired at neither wealth nor power, and their plan was industry. We have shewn how highly probable it is, that Bohemia afforded them work, wages, and a secure asylum; (till its conquest by Ferdinand), which were all they wanted. If these be facts, they are facts that do honour to human nature, they exhibit in the great picture of the world, a few small figures in the back ground, unstained

with the blood, and unruffled with the disputes of their fellow creatures. It was their wisdom in their times, not to come forward to deliver apologies to the world, and creeds with flattering prefaces to princes, the turbulence of the crowd would have caused the still voice of reason not to be heard.—*R. E. R. p. 522 to 527.*

The benevolent mind may be pleased to hear, that this class of Baptists exist at the present day, and maintain the same Christian simplicity.

The Turks had greatly reduced the Eastern empire, and in the year 1453, they put a period to it, by the capture of Constantinople. This event greatly reduced the Greek church, and lessened the number of the Greek Euchites, or dissenters, therefore what has been said upon these subjects, may be concluded with a few observations.

Greatly as the Greeks were divided in speculative opinions, and numerous as the congregations were, which dissented from the established church, it is remarkable, and may serve to confirm the meaning of the word baptize, that there is not a shadow of

dispute in all their history in favour of sprinkling. Because they were Greeks, they all thought that to baptize was to baptise, that is, that to dip was to dip. They all baptized and re-baptized; the established church, as was observed before, by order of council, for speculative reasons, and the dissenters for moral reasons. Thus the people called Acephali, or headless, were reproved and hooted in council, for re-baptizing in private houses, and holding conventicles; and thus the Manicheans are censured for reprobating the baptism of children, and the Cathari, for calling the established church a worldly community, and re-baptizing such as joined their churches. The sum of the matter seems to be, that the established Greek church held both the subject and the mode of baptism, as the first institution prescribed, for four or five hundred years, losing the subject by degrees, but retaining the mode to this day; and that the bulk of the dissenters, perhaps all, retained both the subject and the mode, always dipping, and never dipping any but

upon their own personal profession of faith.

—*R. E. R.* p. 92, 93.

Grotius says, that in every age, many of the Greeks, unto this day, keep the custom of deferring baptism to little ones; till they could themselves make a confession of their faith.—*Danver's Treat. on Bap.* p. 80.

Voltaire says, the Greeks, who never received baptism, but by immersion, hated the Latins, who in favour of the Northern Christians, introduced that rite by aspersion—*Works*, vol. i. chap. vii.

Nor would the Greeks admit aspersion to be valid baptism, so late as the year 1745; for Sophia Augusta, who had been christened by the Protestants in her infancy, was that year espoused to Peter, afterward the Czar, Peter III. upon which she was baptized by immersion, according to the rites of the Greek church. This person was no other than the celebrated Catharine III. who reigned over the Russian empire with so much glory—*Cox's Travels*, vol. ii. book v.

In Spain, the Baptists and other denominations, had long enjoyed liberty of conscience, under the Mohammedan govern-

ment, and the intolerant catholics enjoyed the same privilege. They held synods, and made what canons they pleased, but they had not power to enforce them with fire and sword. Their language used to be when they could do no other, if any person, king, nobleman, prelate, priest, or monk, or any of inferior rank, native or foreigner, shall at any time deny this creed, or disobey these canons, may he be numbered with Judas, Dathan, and Abiram; may all his limbs be broken; may his eyes be plucked out; and may he suffer the pains of eternal damnation with the devil and his angels.—

R. E. R. p. 250.

But though councils and curses could not suppress heresy in Spain, the Inquisition did. “Before the institution of that court, innumerable heretics resided in Spain.”—

R. E. R. p. 240.

In the year 1491, Ferdinand conquered the Moors, and then the Catholics obtained power. The court of inquisition was introduced by him and his consort Isabella, and was principally intended to prevent the relapse of the Jews and Moors, who had

been converted, or pretended to be converted to the faith of the church of Rome. “ In 1512, Don Diaco Deza, archbishop of Seville, opened a synod with a sermon, in which he referred to Christians not in communion with the Catholic church, and whom he calls a church of malignants. In 1565, Don Christopher Roxas de Sandaval, bishop of Cordova, held a provincial council at Toledo, and apprized the fathers of the danger of the whole company, in consequence of the success of that singular wild beast Luther, after whose example multitudes had broken the yoke, and burst the bonds of their God. The truth is, the news of the reformation in Germany, and the revolution in the Netherlands, animated the friends of freedom and virtue in Spain, who were emboldened and multiplied by the accession of many in high rank both in church and state. They decried the popular religion, assembled in separate societies to worship God, in which mechanics and women taught, and struggled to set conscience free for more than forty years. The inquisitors of those times say, and they say truly, if they had not come

into the aid of the church at this critical moment, in spite of all the power of the Emperor Charles V. all the policy of his son, Phillip II. all the learning of the universities, all the influence of the hierarchy, and all the treasures of Mexico and Peru, dyers and cobblers would have preached the Catholic religion clean out of Spain.—*R. E. R. p. 272.*

One of the curses denounced by a Catholic council, when they had not power to burn, has been mentioned before. Mr. Robinson alludes to such anathemas against those who disobeyed their creeds and canons, in the following paragraph.

“ When they burnt thirty, sixty, ninety heretics at a time—when they hung their tribunals with scarlet, stained the walls of their torture rooms with human blood, adorned their parlours with pictures of executions, of ninety persons consuming to ashes in the flames—when they made heresy a capital crime, and conceived a court only of three or four persons for the trial of the criminal, the inquisitor, one or two secretaries, and the prisoner—when they con-

ducted all this infernal policy in the name of Jesus, and under the banner of the cross, —while they cloathed the wretched sufferers with habits and caps, on which was represented devils and flames—What did they more than finish and colour a picture, of which the most ancient and sanctimonious synods had given them a sketch, a picture when finished, so dreadful, that even the artists shuddered at the sight of their own work?" An inquisitor calls it, *Horrendum et tremendum spectaculum* : but liberal men have hardly words to express their abhorrence of it.—
 " The dreadful ceremony, (says an excellent writer), is more repugnant to humanity, as well as to the spirit of the Christian religion, than the most abominable sacrifices recorded in the annals of the pagan world." These abominable sacrifices, these horrible spectacles, these diabolical cruelties, all originated in the affixing ideas of guilt to mere mental errors, or, in other words, in making faith and not virtue the mark of a good man.—*R. E. R. p. 251.*

" Authors of undoubted credit affirm, and without the least exaggeration, that,

millions of persons have been ruined by this horrible court—Heretics of all ranks and of various denominations were imprisoned and burnt, or fled into other countries, and the gloom of despotism overshadowed all Spain; and at first the people reasoned, and rebelled, and murdered the inquisitors, then the aged murmured and died; the next generation flattered and complained, but their successors were completely tamed by education, and Spaniards are now trained up by the priests to shudder at the thought of thinking for themselves.”

Among those that suffered,—“Not the least respectable class is that, which the inquisitor says, consisted of the dregs of the people, tinkers, cobblers, dyers, butchers, and women, who in defiance of a long list of synodical canons, none of which they could read, mounted the pulpit and preached. The surly judges of the inquisition, forgetting they were men, burnt some of these female orators at Valladolid; they had been nuns, and were committed to the flames in all the bloom of youth and beauty, while orthodox hags of the court sat in splendour

by the side of the king, to behold the infernal sacrifice. Catholic historians, not well versed in the distinguishing characters of different sects of Protestants, confound all these sufferers in one common mass, called heretics; but the reformed know, that this class was composed of such as are now called either Independent Baptists, or Quakers, for these are the only Christians that disallow the distinction of clergy and laity, and suffer illiterate mechanics to teach; and the two latter were the only sorts, who at the reformation allowed of the public preaching of women. Dr. Paramo said, the single sect of the Anabaptists produced twelve sects. Had he understood their affairs, he would have said, twelve independent congregations, or twelve associations of congregations: he adds, that in places where they were allowed to multiply, you could not go into one of their houses, without observing that the husband was of one opinion and the wife of another; the father held one sentiment the son another; and the very servants had a creed different from that of their masters. He was shocked at this, and he did not know

that in this freedom of believing, according to their own convictions, the Baptists placed their glory. A man educated as he was, among conformists and creeds, where a dead midnight silence reigned in the name of faith ; one who spent his life in taking depositions, extorting confessions, browbeating heretics, and sentencing them to the flames—a man whose understanding was suffocated with canons, comments, and quibbles—such a man could not conceive it possible for families to be happy in a variety of sentiment.”—*R. E. R.* p. 240, 249, 251, 272, 275, 276.

But though the inquisitors did not distinguish the different classes of Christians who suffered in Spain, we know that in consequence of the edicts published in the Netherlands, while they were under the dominion of Charles V. and his son Philip, that four hundred and thirty-two Baptists, were burnt drowned, or otherways put to death there. “ All of whom, with many more hundreds of confessors and martyrs, sealing the truth of believers against infant baptism with their blood, you have recorded, with

many of their choice sayings at their death, and their excellent epistles to their friends, in that most elaborate and worthy collection written in Dutch, by *Theolem J. Van Braght*, in his book called the *Bloody Theatre*; being not only a continuation of their ancient books of martyrs, but a confirmation of former and latter instances, out of the best historians and records, a piece done with great judgment and exactness."—*Danver's Treat. on Bap.* p. 270.

The last reference to the Italian Dissidents, was about the beginning of the fourteenth century, when the inquisitors had discovered the sect of Wilhelmina, a zealous female Bohemian Baptist, and were commencing their persecutions against them. In 1308, Dulcinus, of Novaria, with his wife Margaretha, were burnt at that place.—*Twisk. Cron. l. xiv. p. 649.*—*Hen. Boek. fol. 26.*

But it does not appear that the power of the inquisitors in Italy, was sufficient to extirpate the dissidents, that country being under so many different governments. And credible writers affirm, that many parts

of Italy were infected with heresy.—*R.E.R.*
p. 442.

Achilles Melvezzi, was one of the sixteen regents of the city of Bologna, he was an heretic, and a protector of heretics, and he died at ease in his heresy, in the year 1468, and his family succeeded to his office and honours at the same time.

John Faelli published a book in defence of heresy, and although the Dominicans frequently censured ecclesiastical heretics, yet it was only by a faction that they procured the punishment of any one at Bologna. Thus in 1481, they burnt a young student, George, of Montferratt, because they pretended he was a Jew, an obstinate heretic, who denied Christ and his Mother. But the citizens would not suffer the inquisitors to punish Gabriel de Salodio, in 1497, who denied the divinity of Christ, and was taxed with publishing his errors.

John Valdesius, of Naples, in Italy, was an Unitarian Baptist of eminent learning and piety, and published several books, in one of which he says, that he knew nothing of the disputes about the trinity, except

that there was one God Most High, the Father of Jesus Christ; one Lord Jesus Christ, his Son, and one Spirit of both.

It has been mentioned before, that one of the societies of Paterines was at Vizenza; and it is a well known fact, that the revivers of the Unitarian Baptist churches, at the reformation, proceeded from a society of about forty men of eminence at this place: this company was broken up by Catholic persecutors, who put two of the number Trevisa and De Ruego to death. The rest fled into Poland, Switzerland, Germany, and other places. Out of Italy too, came the celebrated Bernard Ochin, Matthew Grimaldi, Francis Lismanini, Dr. Blandrata, and probably Sebastian Castellio. Little did these learned men imagine, when they fled for conscience sake from Catholic fury, some into Turkey, and others into the arms of Calvin and Beza, fugitives for conscience themselves, as they pretended; that the omnipotent Mohammedan despots would grant them religious liberty, and the godly exiles strain every nerve to get them put to death for heresy—yet so it was.

near Venice.

Gentilis was beheaded at Berne, for not believing the trinity ; while Leonardi enjoyed his sentiments at Damascus, and lived by selling old clothes. — *R. E. R.* p. 442, 443, 444, 447. *Rebel*

Anno 1557, Algerius, a learned man of Padua, for opposing infant baptism, had scalding oil cast on his body, and was afterward burnt to ashes at Rome. — *Dutch Martyrol.* l. ii. p. 246.

It is observable that the Italian dissidents “ censured and described by Rinieri, were not such Christians as the Lutherans or the Calvinists ; but, on the contrary, such as they persecuted for heresy. Father Gretzer hath fully discussed this point, and clearly laid open the fraud and folly of the whole affair. It may suffice to observe, that three articles, which the Lutherans and Calvinists most of all abhorred, were three principal parts of the religion of most, and two of them of all the Italian churches : the unity of God in opposition to a trinity, which most of them held ; and the baptism of only believers, and the right of private judgment, in which they were all agreed. With what emotion

would the Italian dissidents have read the books of Calvin and Beza, on the right of a consistory to condemn men for heresy, and the obligations of a senate to destroy them! How would they have felt, had they seen Servetus burnt alive?

The Popes had long claimed a universal dominion over conscience, and their claim had been maintained by canon law, penal statutes, and civil tyranny. But in the first part of the sixteenth century, his dominion was disputed, and his yoke thrown off, by some eminent characters; who also discarded those doctrines and ceremonies that were most disagreeable to them, and this they termed a reformation.

The term reformation implies a great deal, but is often applied to very little; thus this reformation, as it is called, "may be more properly said, to have exposed the evil than to have cured it; for it was out of this mass of insignificance, absurdity and cruelty, called civil and canon law, that many Protestants derived their maxims of church government. In all such churches there is a standard of speculative theology, called

orthodoxy ; and of course a crime called heresy, and even suspected heresy. Merit and demerit are affixed to modes of thinking, and virtue alone unconnected with them is not a little either to reward or esteem.”—
 “ By orthodoxy is to be understood whatever the ruling party please to say, and by heresy a differing from it.”—*R. E. R.* p. 148.

It is said before, that these reformers threw off the yoke which the popes had imposed upon them ; but did they not themselves usurp the same dominion over converts, and maintain it by the same means ? A few instances of their conduct will be the best answer to this question.

About the year 1522, or soon after Luther returned from his exile, in the castle of Wartpurg, and found his influence and power sufficiently established to enable him to effect his purposes, he banished Nicholas Stork from Wirtemberg, for daring among other things, to support the scripture doctrine and practice of believer's baptism.—*Meshev. l. i. c. 2, 3.* So that it was “ truly said by Cardinal Hosius, that Luther did

did not intend to make all mankind as free as himself; he had not foreseen that other men would apply the same reasoning to his tyranny over conscience, that he had so successfully applied to that of the pope, and therefore he dethroned him to set up himself. His colleague, Carlostad, found this to his sorrow. It was not enough for Luther to render his continuance at Wirtemberg impossible; he followed him to other places, where he exercised his ministry, and expelled him by order of the Duke."—*R. E. R.* p. 543.

Calvin, by his influence and power, established a consistory at Geneva, and of course canon and penal laws for the government of his church, the prevention and punishment of heretics. Michael Servetus, a Spanish physician, and a Unitarian Baptist, having occasion to pass through Geneva, was by Calvin's means arrested and thrown into prison. Calvin accused him of heresy, and by his influence, Servetus was sentenced to combustion by a slow fire; this sentence was executed on the 27th Oct. 1553, by using green bushes with the leaves on them,

to burn him, and thereby prolonging his misery, an evident proof that there was no reformation in the articles of tyranny and cruelty.—*R. E. R. p.* —*And the Mon. Repos. for August 1810, p. 384, 386.*

And we find much the same spirit manifested by other reformers. There was in England, one Joan Boucher, a woman of an excellent character, who hazarded her life in the reign of Henry VIII. to bring others to the knowledge of the truth; she was a great disperser of the New Testament, translated by Tyndall into English, which she used to carry to court under her apparel, where she was known to several ladies of quality, and was particularly acquainted with Ann Askew, who was burnt for conscience sake, in the year 1546. This woman being charged with holding erroneous opinions concerning the incarnation of Christ, baptism, &c. she being a Baptist, was condemned by archbishop Cranmer, the bishops Latimer, Ridley, &c. The young king, Edward VI. set his hand to the warrant with tears in his eyes, telling archbishop Cranmer, “that if he did wrong,

since it was in submission to his authority, he should answer for it to God." The sentence was put in execution, and she was burned the second of May, 1550, and suffered with great constancy.—*Linsey's Hist. View*, p. 86.—*Crosby's Hist. Bap.* vol. i. p. 46.—*Strype's Eccles. Mem.* vol. ii. p. 214.—*Ridley's Life of Bp. Ridley*.—*Rapin's Hist. of England with Tyndal's notes*, vol. ii. p. 14, 15.—*Burnett's Hist. Reform.* vol. i. p. 105.

Thus says an excellent writer, the reformers, in following the example of the church of Rome, and adopting the most pernicious of her maxims, shewed that in rejecting many of her doctrines, they were still actuated by her spirit.—*Bigland's View of the World*, vol. i. p. 305.

A number of instances might be produced to prove, that though these Reformers dethroned the pope in his dominion over conscience, they usurped it themselves, and maintained it by the very same means. They said the pope was Antichrist, "but as conscience every where is a throne of God, so a usurper of his throne is Anti-

christ any where.”—*R. E. R. p. 173.*—
The excellent axiom of the emperor Maximilian, will apply to all: “Those who tyrannize over the consciences of men, attack the Supreme Being in the noblest part of his empire.”

Cardinal Hosius exposed them all for renouncing popery, only with a view to invade the office of the pope, and instead of one pontiff at Rome, setting up popes every where—Pope Calvin, Pope Beza, and so on—*R. E. R. p. 583.*

But to those who reproved, and to those who expostulated with them, on this and a few other favourite points, they were deaf as the dead; and too often, if they had them in their power, cruel as a bear bereaved of her whelps.

Andrew Dudith, one of the greatest men among the Baptists, who was beyond the reach of the malice of these reformers, wrote to several, and endeavoured to convince them of the absurdity of their conduct. “Tell me, (says he to Wolff), my learned friend, now that the Calvinists have burnt Servetus, and beheaded Gentilis, and

murdered many others, having banished Bernard Ochin, with his wife and children, from your city, in the depth of a sharp winter—now that the Lutherans have expelled Lasco, with the congregation of foreigners that came out of England with him, in an extremely rigorous season of the year—having done a great many such exploits, all contrary to the genius of christianity, how, (I ask) how shall we meet the papists? With what face can we tax them with cruelty? How dare we say, our weapons are not carnal?—*R. E. R. p. 592, 593.*

When the Baptists reproached Beza for preaching nothing but faith to people who did believe in God, and argued for the necessity of pressing home morality, so that the intoxicated might become sober, and the miser liberal, he exclaimed,—“ Good God, what are we come to!—Is it possible that such things can be spoken, written, and printed in a christian city, and the writer of them tolerated?” In Beza, this was not passion, this was zeal for the fundamental truths of the gospel. Drunkards, and misers, and kept mistresses were not

heretics, they were tolerated. But the baptists were the men, “whom Beza, like Saul, breathing out threatenings and slaughter, persecuted unto strange cities.”—*R. E. R. p. 345*. Yet even Beza had acknowledged their practice consistent with scripture, for in his note on *Gal. iii. 27*. he said, it was, “the ancient custom of plunging the adult in baptism.”

The reformers were not ignorant that the baptism of believers was consistent with the scripture, for they had acknowledged this. Thus Luther said, “If you receive the sacraments without faith, you bring yourselves into a great difficulty ; for we oppose against your practice, the saying of Christ, *He that believeth and is baptized, shall be saved.*”—*Stan. Hosii, de Heresy Nastri. Temporis. lib. i.*

Again, “The term baptism is a Greek word, it may be rendered dipping, when we dip something in water, that it may be intirely covered with water.”—*In A. R's Vanity of Inf. Bap. part ii. p. 8.*

And Calvin said, “Because Christ requires teaching before baptizing, and will

have believers only admitted to baptism, baptism does not seem to be rightly administered, except faith precede."—*In Harmony, Evang. Comment ad loc.*

Again—"The word baptize signifies to immerse; and the rite of immersion was observed by the ancient church."—*Institut. Christ. Relig.* l. iv. c. xv. s. 19.

But as the adherence of the scribes and pharisees to the traditions of the fathers was too violent to be overcome by the teachings of the Lord Jesus, so it appears, that the attachment of these reformers to the baptism of infants was too great to be overcome by the power of truth, or the teachings of Christ in his word. And they were determined to enforce it by the secular arm, as the Catholics had done before; one instance for a proof of this may suffice.

In the year 1525, an edict was published at Zürich, commanding all sorts of persons to baptize their children, and to forbear re-baptizing, upon the penalty of pecuniary mulcts and imprisonment.—*Danver's Hist. Bap.* p. 260. And the year after, Zuinglius, one of the reformers at that city, pronounced

this sentence on Felix Mans, a baptist minister, *He who re-baptizes let him be drowned*; upon which he was drowned at Zurich.—*Brant's Hist. Reformat. vol. i. b. ii. p. 57.*

In 1530, a second edict was published at Zurich, by which adult baptism was punishable with death.—*Lavather up. sup. xxv. —Danver's Treat. Bap. p. 260.*

Nor were these laws made to be hung up in *terrorem*, for in consequence of these edicts, ten baptists were put to death in this and the three following years.

After which, they seemed to decline public executions, and then seven of the baptists were cruelly starved to death in prison; and five more imprisoned till death released them.—*Danver's on Bap. p. 264, 265.*

Thus having neither precept nor example for the baptism of infants in the word of God, they made use of carnal weapons to enforce it. It is true, they sometimes had recourse to the fathers for its defence. But “the jesuit Possivin laughed at these divines, for quoting fathers against the Poles,

after they had rejected their authority against themselves. “ Thus (says he) heretics are forced to plough with our heifer, and have no other arguments against the Anabaptists, than those which we have brought against themselves.”—*R. E. R.* p. 583.

Where, said the Catholics was your religion, churches, and ordinances, before the rise of Luther and Calvin? And truly they could not show where their ordinance of infant baptism was instituted by Christ, but were obliged to have recourse to the catholic fathers to defend it, as the jesuit asserted.

By far the greater part of the baptists in these times, like their predecessors, the Italian dissidents, and the Waldenses, did not believe the doctrines of original sin, and the trinity, and their sentiments on those points, together with that on the baptism of infants, were unpardonable heresies in the opinion of these reformers.

Dr. Mosheim says, “ There were some sects and doctors, against whom the zeal, vigilance, and severity of Catholics, Luthe-

rans and Calvinists were united, and in opposing whose settlement and progress, these three communities forgetting their dissensions, joined their most vigorous counsels and endeavours. The objects of their common aversion, were the Anabaptists, and those who denied the divinity of Christ, and a trinity of persons in the Godhead.”—*R. E. R.* p. 581. So true is that saying of Christ, “*And ye shall be hated of all men for my name’s sake.*—Mark xiii. 13.

For many centuries past, the Catholics had enacted penal laws against such Christians, and now the Protestants did the same. Little did they think, that by these penal laws, they obliged those Christians to bear witness to the truth, *cloathed in sackcloth.*—*Rev.* xi. 3.

Nearly a century after this, Ephraim Paggitt, a Protestant minister, told the good people of England, that in other countries, “Christian princes and magistrates never left burning, drowning, and destroying them, till their remainder was contemptible; and he hoped the Parliament would suppress

them here.—*Hiresiography*, London, 1645, 4to. p. 151.

What a contrast does history present to our view ! on one hand, Christians called heretics, who for many ages were despised, persecuted, and clothed in sackcloth, or under the pressure of penal laws. On the other hand, those who called themselves orthodox, in favour with the world, loaded with riches, and clothed with power, or supported by the kings and princes of the earth. Well might the Revelator describe this worldly corporation, as “ *the great whore that sitteth upon many waters ; with whom the kings of the earth have committed fornication, and the inhabitants of the earth have been made drunk with the wine of her fornication. And the woman was arrayed in purple and scarlet colour, and decked with gold and precious stones and pearls, having a golden cup in her hand, full of abominations and filthiness of her fornications : and upon her forehead was a name written MYSTERY, BABYLON, THE GREAT, THE MOTHER OF HARLOTS AND ABOMINATIONS OF THE EARTH. And I saw the woman drunken with the blood*

of the saints, and with the blood of the martyrs of Jesus : and when I saw her, I wondered with great admiration.—Rev. xvii. 1, 2, 4, 5, 6.

As some writers pretend to derive our origin from the Munster Anabaptists, it seems necessary to introduce a few observations on that subject, from Mr. Booth, which with the addition of two quotations from other Pedobaptist authors, are to the following import.

Many Pedobaptists, it is well known, have endeavoured to render our practice odious, by exhibiting in frightful colours, the conduct of some German Baptists in the sixteenth century ; and by representing our distinguishing sentiment, as derived from those obnoxious characters. To that evidence, therefore, of the high antiquity and heavenly origin of our baptismal practice, which arises from the concessions and reasonings of Pedobaptists, I will now produce a few testimonies from our learned opposers, more directly fitted to free us from all suspicion of being descended from the Munster Baptists. Thus, for example,

that famous Arminian, Limborch. “If the doctrines and rites of the Waldenses be well examined, without prejudice, it must, I think, be said, that among all the denominations of Christians, which there are at this day, none have a greater agreement with them, than that which is called Menonites,” (the Dutch Baptists)—*Hist. Inquisit. cap. ix. 32.*

Venema, after assigning various reasons against considering the Menonites, as descended from the Baptists at Munster, proceeds thus:—“The nearest origin of the Menonites, in my judgment, is better derived from the Waldenses, and from them also that of the Anabaptists. The Menonites desired to have the innocence and purity of the primitive Church restored, and to carry on the reformation further than Luther and Calvin intended. Certainly the Waldenses, if you except the origin of the flesh of Christ, held the principal articles of religion almost in common with the Menonites, as appears by the history of the former already given in the twelfth century. The errors of the Menonites concerning

Pedobaptism and the incarnation of Christ, are to be considered as proceeding from a different source. We have no need to search for other principles from which Menotism flowed ; much less of those invidious ones maintained by the disorderly person at Munster, and other fanatics of a similar kind, from which the Menonites vindicated themselves a great while ago ; and now for a long time they have so cleared and justified themselves, both as to life and doctrine, that they cannot be any longer confounded with those at Munster, without notorious injustice and signal injury." Such is the language of this impartial historian.

Mr. Hall in his Encyclopedia, on the article Anabaptists, candidly acknowledges, that they appear to be supported by history, in considering themselves as the descendants of the Waldenses, who were so grievously oppressed and persecuted by the despotic heads of the Roman hierarchy.

Mosheim says truly, " that before the rise of Luther and Calvin, there lay concealed in almost all the countries of Europe, persons who adhered tenaciously to the

principles of the modern Dutch Baptists.” *Eccles. Hist. cent. xvi. sect iii. part. ii. chap. iii. 2.* Thus in the days of Elijah, the people of God lay concealed among the apostatizing Israelites : for the Lord said to him. “ *Yet I have left me seven thousand in Israel, all the knees which have not bowed unto Baal, and every mouth which hath not kissed him.*—1 Kings, xix. 18.

I will here add the following testimony from Cardinal Hosius, who was president of the Council of Trent. “ The Anabaptists are a pernicious sect,* of which kind the Waldensian brethren seem also to have been—concerning whom it appears, that not very long ago they re-baptized persons, though some of them lately, as they testify in their apology, have ceased to repeat baptism. Certain it is, however, that in many things they agree with the Anabaptists. Nor is this heresy a modern thing, for it existed in the time of Austin.”—*Apud. Schyn. Hist. Menonit. p. 135.*

Thus it appears, that these eminent au-

* It was common with the Catholics to apply such language to Protestants and their doctrines.

thors consider the Baptists as deriving their pedigree not from the Munster enthusiasts, but from the Waldensian confessors, which is a line of descent that we are not ashamed to own : it is, however, quite as honourable as the derivation of sprinkling, or of pouring from the mother of abominations.—*B. P. E. vol. ii. p. 476, 477.*



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